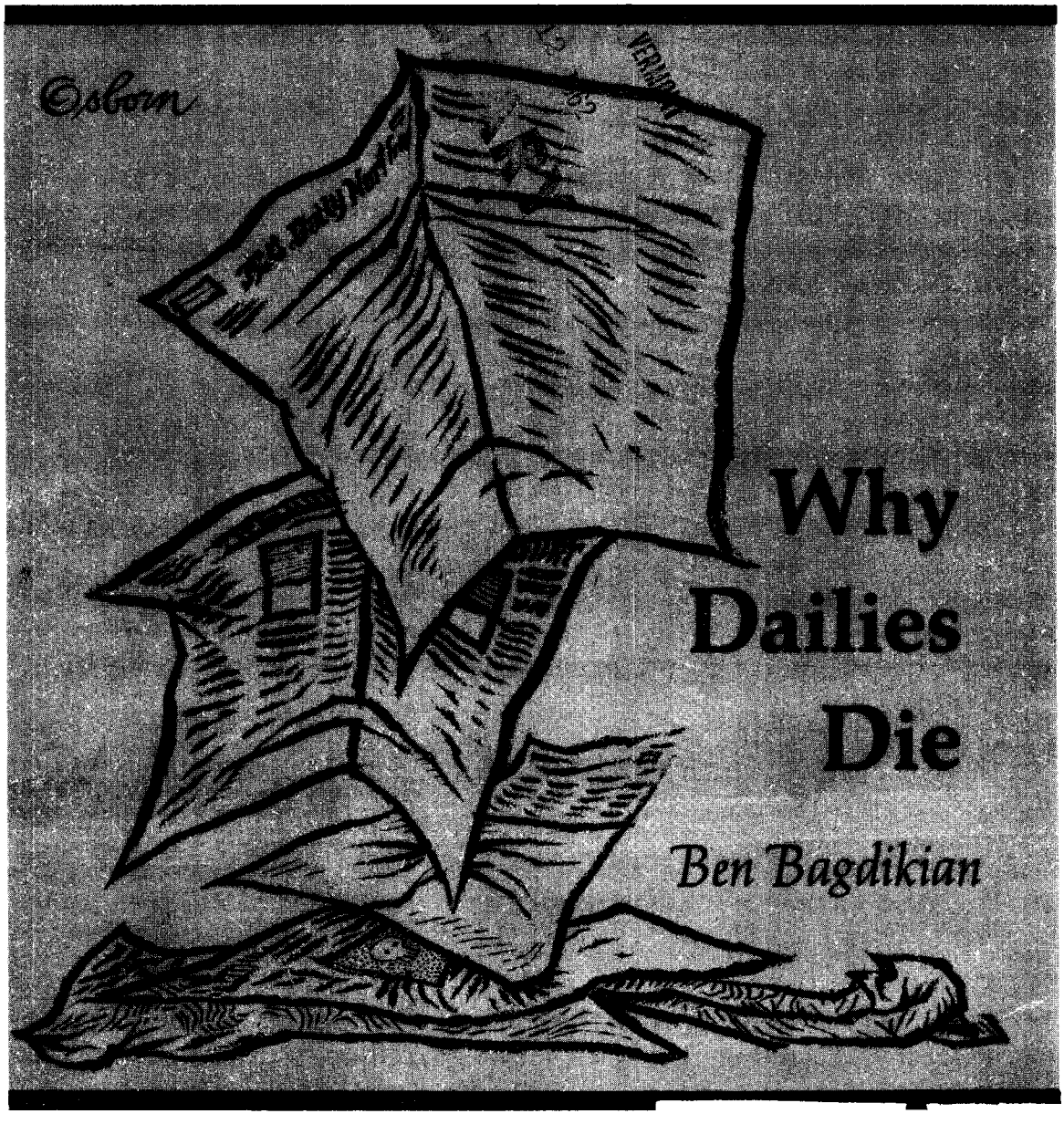
THE NEW REPUBLIC



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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Will It Last?

★ Don't look now, but the economy is misbehaving. If things go on as they are the First Kennedy Recession will arrive punctually next year. It will be bad medicine for the whole Free World. The Free World is trying to integrate its economy through the Common Market but can only do this on a wave of prosperity. An American recession in 1963 would just about sink the boat.

The current recovery is the weakest since the war. There have been four recessions since the war with a recovery bounce after each. Like a ping-pong ball coming to rest each one of these bounces has been shorter than the last. In 1949 in the first 12 months of recovery unemployment fell 50 percent; in the same time in this recession only 13 percent. Other charts tell the same story; if this goes on we shall head right back to the sluggish 2.5-3 percent average annual growth rate of the Eisenhower Administration.

"Business is good," say Wall Street commentators. The answer is, "So what?" Business normally gets somewhat better after a recession like a patient after surgery. But will it last? It takes time to make sure, but at present the rate of recovery is slowing down. It doesn't look promising.

The layman can be deceived in all this because so many people try to deceive him. Take last week here in Washington. The new figures on unemployment came out. "Good news! unemployment down," said headlines. It was down, but is *always* down in March with warm weather. Adjusted seasonally, unemployment dropped only from 5.6 to 5.5 percent which is statistically insignificant and actually disappointing. Unemployment remains abnormally high.

Furthermore, the civilian labor force is constantly increasing. Some 1,500,000 new workers are added annually. Yet the labor force for March as reported by the new US statistics is 300,000 *below* March a year ago. Something very odd is happening. Walter Heller, Mr. Kennedy's top economist, said he was "disturbed." Well, he might be! For experts note this as a tell-tale evidence of concealed unemployment – John Smith doesn't even seek a job because there are no jobs to seek. His name comes off the official work force automatically.

We find it hard to justify Kennedy's handling of this affair, about the biggest his Administration faces with its foreign implications. Not since he took office has Kennedy really tried to re-educate the public after the economic pre-Darwinism that was taught during the Eisenhower Administration.

The Witch-Doctor Chorus

★ Eisenhower devoted eight years to building up fear about an unbalanced budget and inflation; it was his greatest legacy to the nation. This fall the GOP is going to chant the old witch-doctor chorus again. Kennedy is spending "too much" and producing too big a deficit. The real trouble, we think, is that Kennedy isn't spending enough, and that he began talking about a balanced budget too soon.

The 1960 Democratic platform didn't worry about this nor did Kennedy in the campaign. He attacked Eisenhower for unemployment and promised to use "every means" to meet it. Then he took office, named Republican Douglas Dillon Secretary of the Treasury, and coasted along on the mild cyclical business revival that began, semi-automatically, two months after inauguration.

Kennedy gives evidence of fearing to meet the basic issue head-on. It is hard to take seriously the "balanced budget" which he advanced last January, with a theoretical $500 million surplus. Actually Kennedy *is* spending, and he will possibly wind up with a $3 to $5 billion dollar deficit. He is a better politician than we are and maybe this make-believe about balancing the budget while he is unbalancing it is necessary. The question is whether his red ink spending will be enough, and whether he will get it out into the economy in time. Growth depends mainly on private investment and public investment. Kennedy is trying to increase private investment by the investment credits in his tax bill, which may or may not work. But experience of the past 10 years indicates that private investment isn't enough and that the starved public sector needs Federal investment to break the cycle of short-lived booms and recurrent recessions.

The country has just about reached the point now where next year's recession is being decided. We just don't believe America can afford a low-performance economy much longer – nor Kennedy's reputation either. Sooner or later, we believe, he is going to have to take some of his fabulous popularity in hand and go out and spend it in the face of horrified Republicans for the bold new program he mentioned in the campaign. He has "got to get the country moving again."

We went around to the Walker hearings last week prepared for almost any emotion except the one that developed. It was boredom. General Walker is preposterous and a crashing bore. The rumor is that some of the H. L. Hunt-Dallas oil money is backing him. It's a bad investment. Walker's halting testimony was constantly prompted by advisers on either side of him, like parasites on a paranoid, one of them a Birchite editor. The Army is lucky to be rid of Walker. The country is in debt to *The Overseas Weekly*.

Notes

★ Kennedy had Supreme Court Justice Whittaker's resignation a couple of weeks before it was announced; Byron White comes to a deadlocked, 4-to-4, Court and should be the tie-breaker. . . . In its deepest sense the Court is a political body; the big issue now is individual rights vs. governmental responsibilities. . . . Presidents have repeatedly been disappointed by the men they name, but White's record makes him look like an "individual rights" man. . . . Congress is way behind in its work and will probably scrap a lot of Kennedy bills come July; chief bottleneck is the House Ways & Means Committee. . . . We'll soon know if the softer wind blowing from Moscow means anything; top officials here have been mildly encouraged.

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Captive Cuba?

On March 26, Fidel Castro made one of those unpredictable, three-and-a-half hour television appearances which, in the early phase of his rule, used to confuse his followers and foreign observers alike. This was a speech to think about, and one that had only fragmentary mention in the US press. Party leaders were denounced for creating a government within a government; the new Integrated Revolutionary Organization (ORI) was told to stick to its ideology and leave the running of the state to Castro and his administrators; Cuban Communists were excoriated for having lost touch with the masses.

Appealing directly to the people he claims are solidly behind him and portraying himself as the self-effacing populist leader, Castro attacked his rivals for forming "cells" and "cliques." "So, then," he said, "how were the cells set up? I am going to tell you. The Secretary General of the PSP [Communist Party] was made Secretary General of the ORI in each municipality." Thereafter, members of the PSP were made Secretary General of every cell: "Is this Communism? Is this Marxism? Is this socialism? This is arbitrariness; this is abuse; this is privilege. All these things – whether or not this is Communism – will make people say what Indio Hatuey said. When Hatuey was being burned alive, a priest approached him to ask him if he wanted to go to heaven. Hatuey replied: 'No, I do not want heaven if this is heaven.' Do you understand? I must speak clearly."

To those familiar with past Castro oratory the allusion to the legendary Indio Hatuey was significant; for this is the same anecdote Castro has used again and again in denouncing imperialism, capitalism and the Church.

No matter what ideological embellishments Castro gives his dispute with "old guard" Communists ("sectarianism," "dogmatism"), he leaves no doubt that he personally resents their contempt for the "naive" policies of the Cuban revolutionaries: "Why have we been discussing this problem of the Soviet Union: Well, we can say to inform ourselves. To inform and to discuss, yes. Those are problems that have to do with the experiences of Marxism, but we did not have to convert it into the central subject of our discussions, because we have some things much more important to discuss. This is something similar to our embarking on a great campaign against the bubonic plague when in reality what we have is malaria and polio. . . ."

Recalling how he had admonished those who fought with him in the mountains against setting themselves up as an elite, Castro derided

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as "absurd" the boasts of old Communists of their militancy and their efforts to retain privileged positions in the new organization: "What could that engender if not conditions that would cultivate for the old Communists the antipathy or resentment of the masses. . . . They thought they had won the revolution in a raffle. They forgot the blood, the sacrifices that the revolution cost. I will give some examples." And he did.

There was the case of a Communist latecomer made secretary of the regional committee of Bayamo, one Fidel Pompa (a dig at the pomposity of the Communist leaders or a real name?) who was not only unfamiliar with the achievements of revered revolutionary heroes, but threatened to "sweep out" any official who was not a devoted Marxist. "Gentlemen like that Fidel Pompa are not the only ones, there are others and they are the ones we must sweep away."

When he spoke of some 100 Rebel Army officers deprived of their commands by Party bureaucrats for being of a "low political level," Castro said: "What low political level? How can a man have fought for the socialist revolution and afterward be told that he who fought and struggled for that revolution and was loyal to it, who in moments of vacillation did not hesitate . . . who mobilized when the mercenaries came, and died fighting them after having declared that this revolution was socialist, be told that he cannot command troops because of a low political level?"

When he appointed the late Camilo Cienfuegos, one of the most popular revolutionary figures, to lead the victorious march on Law Villas, Castro "did not ask him to recite Das Kapital. . . . Perhaps now through these paradoxes and these ironies somebody would have come to examine him in Marxism-Leninism and suspended him and he would have given the command to any college man who may have had a little military education. . . . I say that is nonsense, an injustice, a policy lacking in all sense of proletarian Marxism-Leninism. . . . Those individuals who speak so much rubbish must be shot up at once."

This is a radical change of style and mood from last December 2 when Castro pliantly, humbly acknowledged in an uncharacteristic written speech that "we did not understand the objective conditions. . . . We did not interpret the reality. We made an error. . . ."

What is the explanation of the change? Possibly the very thing that Arab, Israeli, Canadian, Yugoslav, Mexican and Brazilian diplomats had been hinting to the State Department – that the temptation to seize absolute power would be too great for the militant Communists to resist, and that Castro would come to realize that his leadership was in serious jeopardy.

Heretofore, the fatalistic argument has been advanced that Castro is wholly dependent on the Communists organizationally and militarily. This may have been the case in Eastern Europe where postwar Communist leaders were installed by and were directly dependent on the Soviet Army. But the Castro regime still looks to its heavily-armed workers and peasants' militia for support. Nor can one disregard the competence of his young economic and administrative team of nationalist – and Communist – Latin Americans headed by Ernesto Guevara, whose loyalty to Castro is likely to endure should there be a real split.

If, since March 26, Castro has not gone beyond ousting from his party Anibal Escalante, one of the top Communists, and reshuffling the leadership of the ORI to place his loyal followers back into key positions, one may surmise that Soviet oil and other shipments vital to his depressed economy is an inhibiting factor. Food, petroleum and certain consumer goods are subject to strict rationing. Though the forty percent drop in this year's sugar harvest is part of a planned crop diversification program, its effect on Cuba's balance of payments has been somewhat greater than anticipated.

Will Washington take the hint? Castro's March 26 speech was conspicuous for its omission of any reference to Yankee imperialism or Wall Street aggression. It is of some significance too that the anti-Yankee diatribes of his press and radio have been noticeably toned down, and that Castro only last week promptly released, and with exceptional courtesy, the six American skin divers who under different circumstances might have been held and tried as CIA agents. If Castro's offer to set free the 1,179 Cuban invaders for individual ransoms totalling $62 million is callous, it can be said also that the death sentence was not imposed, that the sum in question may be negotiable, and that the amount may conceivably be no more than was earlier spent to equip, train and launch the invaders on their ill-advised expedition of last April 17.

To date the US has lectured Castro, censured him, punished him – as if a revolution such as his were a delinquent child. It has toyed with new schemes for forcing his downfall, though the regime that succeeds his might prove even more intractable. A fresh look at Cuban policy by the US will not produce a sudden miracle of reconciliation or an overt rupture between Cuba and Moscow or Peking. "Marxism-Leninism" is the only social philosophy in terms of which the Cuban rulers can currently think or act: the Yugoslav parallel comes to mind. But the ideological commitment of the Castro leadership will in the long run have to be squared with the Cuban national interest. In its sugar policy (NR, May 15, 1961), the US has a potentially powerful lever for encouraging Castro in an independent course. The changing climate in Havana offers an occasion to test Castro's intentions and to explore the economic bargains which might loosen the ties that bind his foreign policy.

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Investment Credit

An unusual coalition appears to be forming in the Senate to defeat a proposed eight percent tax credit on investment in machinery and equipment.

The Republican opposition is, in a way, harder to understand, for the same Republicans have long advocated more generous tax treatment of corporate capital expenditures. It may be that their real, though unstated, objection to the Kennedy plan is the effect it will have on reported corporate profits, as opposed to the preferred alternative of accelerated depreciation. Depreciation is carried on the books as an expense, a cost subtracted from gross income. Thus, increased depreciation writeoffs diminish reported profits – which is useful when union contract negotiations roll around and not harmful for the businessman in dealing with his banker or his major stockholders, who understand these matters. An investment credit, on the other hand, since it is deducted from a firm's taxes, would not show up at all in before-tax profits and would actually increase profits after taxes.

As a tax "giveaway," the credit has another significant defect from the business point of view. Revenue effects of the credit will be plainly in sight, computable annually, while the total cost to the government of accelerated depreciation writeoffs is difficult to tabulate. Businessmen may also feel they cannot be for the Administration's program without inferentially endorsing government intrusions into the operations of the economy. For some reason – perhaps because depreciation writeoffs have long been incorporated in the Tax Code – accelerated depreciation deductions are not regarded as government intervention. Nor are they, as the credit is – despite repeated Administration assurances to the contrary – regarded as something which might later be taken away.

The objections of liberal Democrats to the credit have been more openly stated: the proposal is too reminiscent of former Defense Secretary Wilson's view that what is good for General Motors is good for the country. To stimulate growth, they would rather reduce personal income taxes in the lower brackets or add to government expenditures. Were this done, however, the increased consumer buying would not lead necessarily or quickly to increased investment in new productive capacity.

Two of our most urgent economic problems today are lagging growth and a chronic balance of payments deficit. The investment credit will not guarantee instant or complete solution of either. Yet by providing business with a direct incentive to spend for productive equipment, the credit is likely in the short run to increase orders for machinery and equipment, thus creating additional jobs and larger payrolls. But its major

Footnotes *to the* Week

STATE DEPARTMENT spokesmen decline to say how much military aid is being given the recalcitrant US "ally," Phoumi Nosavan in Laos, but informed diplomats set the figure at $19 million a month. The budgetary support check which the US has been withholding to pressure Phoumi into a neutralist coalition under Prince Souvanna Phouma totals $3 million. —— REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING *announced plans last week for a $100,000 drive designed to double Negro voter registration in nine Southern states. The two-year program is to be financed by his Southern Christian Leadership Conference with the help of a special fund administered by the Southern Regional Council. If the effort proves successful, said Rev. King, Southern Negroes will sit in the legislatures and in Congress. "And we will free some of our white political leaders, people like Fulbright and Hill and Sparkman of Alabama. They are held back by the people back home. A large Negro vote would enable them to talk the way they believe."* —— THE PRESIDENT overrode foreign aid director Fowler Hamilton in deciding to extend a $10 million credit to the Cheddi Jagan government in British Guiana. Though plans for the loan (the first installment of a projected larger aid program for Jagan) are indicated in official data accompanying the aid legislation now pending in Congress, the White House has not broadcast its decision, hoping that the issue will escape controversy. —— JOHN W. BRICKER, *former Senator from Ohio, has put forward a new strategy for winning the Cold War. "If we forget Russia for a while," he has advised Ohio Republican ladies, "they'll just fade away. If we stop feeding their vanity, then Russia will cease to be a real enemy."* —— HUBERT HUMPHREY hopes to persuade a minority of his Subcommittee on Disarmament to make public a survey of 370 leading defense contractors on the economic impact of disarmament. Some fear the study would be grist for the Soviet propaganda mill, since it throws light on the degree of concentration of defense industries. But the report has already been cleared for release by State, Defense and CIA. —— HOMER BIGART, New York Times *correspondent in Saigon, was ordered to leave South Vietnam within three days by the Ngo Dinh Diem regime on March 22. By March 24 the expulsion order had been revoked, reportedly after* The Times *had obtained State Department intervention in behalf of the Pulitzer Prizewinner. Withdrawing its charges of inaccurate reporting, the Diem government explained that it had "mistranslated" certain of his dispatches. One of Bigart's offending reports was said to be an account of Diem police raids on a US professor's premises in search of a suspected Vietnamese political opponent.*

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effects will be longer-term. It will encourage the modernization of factories and farms, the development of new technology and its rapid incorporation in the production process. That in turn will help ensure our ability to keep wages high. The superior health, education and skill of American workers do not, by themselves, assure maintenance of their productivity margin over workers elsewhere – the margin which justifies US wage standards. To these endowments of the work force must be added use of the most modern and efficient equipment. And US equipment today is, on the average, far older than that in Western Europe.

It is greater productive efficiency that brings about a rising standard of living for workers, without the threat of that inflation which might mean restrictive budgetary policies that starve welfare and resource development programs. Most important of all, however, increased efficiency will make it easier to sell US goods at competitive prices. Expanded export markets, in turn, mean more jobs, a more vigorous domestic economy, and an amelioration of the balance of payments deficit.

Increased government expenditures alone – for education, public construction, health services, resource development or any of a host of entirely worthwhile programs – do little in the short run to increase the productive efficiency of industry. And it is in the short run that the US needs to increase our competitiveness and export sales. Those who are still nervously watching the balance of payments figures will not hold off speculating against the dollar while essential but long range government programs add to national resources. The payoff from increased investment in productive equipment, on the other hand, is fast. In addition, if one were to rely solely on tax reductions to increase demand to the point where it would put pressure on existing industrial capacity – and thus force investment in expanded facilities – a revenue loss to the Treasury far greater than the estimated $1.4 billion cost of the credit would be required.

There is, at present, excess industrial capacity – another point made by the liberal opposition. But steps are being taken outside the tax area – President Kennedy's recently proposed public works program is the latest step to maintain strong and growing demand that can use industrial capacity to the full.

To those who doubt that a larger investment in productive equipment stimulates growth, a careful look at recent US economic performance, compared with that of other nations, is suggested. A striking pattern emerges: with few exceptions, the higher the level of investment, the greater the growth. For example, between 1950 and 1960, investment in machinery and equipment as a percentage of Gross National Product was 11.3 percent in West Germany, and the annual average increase there in real GNP was 7.5 percent. For the US, the equivalent figures are 5.9 percent, and 3 percent.

Some fear that the investment credit would bring additional technological unemployment as new and more modern equipment is put into place. But the economy cannot stand still; that could only lead to more unemployment. For those enterprises in which technological change is lagging, the day of reckoning will be merely postponed – and perhaps not postponed very long; their readjustment will be more protracted and more difficult – if, indeed, they survive at all.

Movement Means Life

The Transportation Message sent Congress April 6 puts the railroad monopoly myth into perspective, for what is to be feared today is not the old tyranny of the railroads and their barons but the tyranny of the motor car over cities. The steel monsters mangle humans, choke traffic, poison the air and, by their inefficient bulk, moving or standing, devour that most precious commodity – space. To appease them we build more and more highways, freeways, parkways and loops which, hydra-like, sprout ever more arms, legs and lanes before the first one is even completed. They blight urban communities, separate neighbor from neighbor and threaten city parks, waterfronts, and all other existing and potential vestiges of beauty and repose in the city. Worst of all, the whim (or narrow slide rule "efficiency") of the highway engineers determines the spread of urban and suburban growth, and can make or break a slum.

To save cities from decay and chaos, there must be a balanced system of different modes of transport to move people about and to bring them from the suburbs to the cores of their work, commerce and culture. The President's program recognizes this by urging Federal assistance for both private and public mass transportation such as subways, monorails and the new rapid transit methods technology should speedily supply. These are to supplement private cars and curb the need to drive them downtown.

By concentrating the new program outlined on April 6 not in the Department of Commerce where the automobile, truck and highway-builder lobbies would soon debilitate it, but in the Housing and Home Finance Agency under the able Robert C. Weaver, the President would assure the long overdue coordination of metropolitan planning and that part of the highway program which affects people who live in and around cities. He would provide emergency assistance to cities. He would help people displaced by highway construction (a far greater number than that forced to move because of urban renewal) to find new homes. It is recognized in the message that while local transportation

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problems should be solved locally, they may in many instances require interstate compacts, since state lines have to be crossed.

Architects and urban designers should participate in this program along with engineers and planners right from the start. There is no reason why highways, under- and overpasses, transit lines, stations, terminals, and all the other paraphernalia of urban transportation should not be attractive. They could be aesthetic assets rather than dismal, disruptive eyesores.

Something for the Troops

The press was so fascinated by the pathos of ex-General Walker's muddleheadedness and the absurdity of his "no-win, soft-on-Communist charges" against all and sundry before the Stennis Committee, it almost overlooked Vice Admiral Robert Goldthwaite.

Goldthwaite is not French or Argentine, but a US naval officer who, as Commandant of the Naval Air Station in Pensacola in 1960, deemed it within his responsibilities to send a Christmas letter to officers and enlisted men in his command urging them, among other things, to "identify public officials and policies displaying 'softness toward Communism' "; to "demand a more patriotic attitude" from them; and to "demand of the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and your representatives in Congress that our Nation immediately establish a foreign policy based on godly moral principles . . . to replace 'coexistence' with evil."

Accompanying this greeting was an unsigned two-page memorandum, ending with a list of organizations to which Pensacola personnel were urged to write for information. The monthly publication of the John Birch Society was at the top of the list. Then followed Harding College in Searcy, Arkansas, which has been characterized as "a center of right-wing activity"; the Christian Crusade, headed by Rev. Billy James Hargis; and the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Admiral Goldthwaite's penchant for right-wing "educational" programs had been alluded to by Senator Fulbright in his celebrated memorandum that sparked the "muzzling hearings." Mr. Fulbright had noted that a "group of community leaders in and around Pensacola were flown to Harding College for indoctrination." Asked later about this, Admiral Goldthwaite acknowledged having sent a few people to "see what educational material we might be able to use in our own educational program on the station . . . not off."

The Admiral fell short of violating Article 82 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, which makes it a court martial offense "to solicit or advise another or others . . . to mutiny." Nonetheless, urging uniformed

"P-s-s-t! Pamphlets, Films, Postcards. . . ."

personnel to "demand" a change of policy by their commander-in-chief might be considered incompatible with encouraging respect for constituted civil authority.

Rear Admiral A. S. Heyward, a top naval personnel officer who testified before the Stennis Committee when the Goldthwaite message was read into the record, told the Senators that the Admiral's Christmas message does not represent Navy policy. Yet the Navy "took no official notice," and he has since been transferred to a more responsible command in San Francisco, where he is said to be "active in right-wing groups."

Nobody Told NASA

The seven astronauts, their financial advisor and NASA officials saw the light, when it was flashed from the White House, and finally refused the offer of free $24,000 homes near their new station in Texas. When the astronauts first put the question to NASA, however, the agency had said it "neither approved nor disapproved" acceptance of the gift. In so doing, agency officials either ignored or failed to consult the edict of the President. On April 27, 1961, in a special message, Mr. Kennedy told Congress, "I intend to prohibit gifts to Government personnel whenever the employee

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has reason to believe that the gift would not have been made except for his official position." Asked to square the Presidential prohibition with NASA's initial, tacit consent of the transaction, an official explained that no regulation had ever been issued to implement Kennedy's intention.

Before leaving office, President Truman speculated on how General Eisenhower would find his new job. "He'll sit here," Mr. Truman said, tapping his desk, "and he'll say, 'Do this! Do that!' *And nothing will happen.* Poor Ike – it won't be a bit like the Army. He'll find it very frustrating."

The prophecy doubtless strikes a responsive chord in the heart of John F. Kennedy.

Sukarno's Rolling Snowball

The conference between the Netherlands and Indonesia on West New Guinea began propitiously. There was every expectation of a compromise which even Papuan nationalists (who were beginning to suspect that they had been led down the garden path) might accept. The Dutch were willing to hand over the burden of administration on face-saving terms. The Indonesians seemingly wanted to make it easy for them and no longer insisted as a prerequisite that the Dutch should renounce in advance their retrospective rights to sovereignty over West New Guinea. Nor did they dismiss out of hand the Netherlands' insistence on the Papuans' right to self-determination.

The early breakdown of the conference has therefore been both a shock and a disappointment in Southeast Asia. Optimism has changed rapidly to pessimism, and the resumption of Indonesian infiltrations into West New Guinea has led to hasty speculation that war might be imminent. While anything is possible in the cat and mouse game now being played around the mangrove swamps of the West New Guinea coast, the Indonesian moves, though militant and military in appearance, are designed primarily for the purpose of scoring negotiating points.

So far as the Dutch are concerned, much more is at stake than their worthless, and costly, chunk of New Guinea. As they see it, the resumption of normal diplomatic and trade relations with Indonesia and some compensation for the $1,600 million of assets seized by the Indonesians in 1957 and 1958 as part of their New Guinea campaign are inseparable from the settlement.

The Indonesians have an altogether different view of the negotiations. Their sole aim is to transfer administration over West New Guinea from The Hague to Djakarta at the earliest possible date. With inflation becoming worse day by day and such basic necessities as cooking oil, rice, sugar and textiles almost prohibitively expensive, Djakarta is in no mood, or condition, to consider compensation. To forestall Dutch moves, the Indonesians opened the conference with the clearly unacceptable demand that the Netherlands should give an immediate promise to hand over West New Guinea. As President Sukarno subsequently suggested, this could have been done in five minutes. But since possession of the territory was the Netherlands' only bargaining point, to have conceded it would have been to have denied themselves all bargaining power. Their understandable refusal to accede to Sukarno's demands has introduced a new phase of the war of nerves in West New Guinea, or what General Nasution, the Indonesian Defense Minister, calls the cold war stage.

Djakarta's guess is that The Hague has already passed the point of no return in its decision to turn over West New Guinea to Indonesia, and that provided it keeps up the pressure, it can force a complete Dutch capitulation. Its estimate may be correct. But with both sides now reinforcing, the risks are also increasing. The Indonesian military forces are not yet ready for the sustained amphibious operation that an invasion of New Guinea would require; but if the skirmishing period is prolonged the probability is that minor actions will escalate.

On the American Farm

Prospects for the Administration's comprehensive farm bill are being rated about as high as prospects for disarmament. Last year a similar package was so cut up by Congress that only an assortment of "emergency" measures remained. These were calculated to bail out the growers of surplus-plagued staples: wheat, corn and the other feed grains. Now the House Committee on Agriculture has denied the Administration temporary authority to maintain the present level of government support prices on milk, and as a consequence dairymen will have to put up with a reduction of about nine percent in the price of their product after April 1.

One needs a wide-lens camera to picture "the farm problem." A central fact is that 1.5 million farms produce nearly all the food and fiber grown in the United States, and could grow the rest. They are, in the main, family enterprises. Except in subtropical areas such as California, Arizona, some parts of Texas, the so-called Delta country adjacent to the mouth of the Mississippi, and Florida, where growing conditions are so uniform that factory-style farming can be practiced, corporate agricultural operations run by hired hands are rare. The most efficient size of farm has, generally speaking, about 300 acres and is operated by a family with occasional hired help.

But what of the other two million farms, the poorer

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60 percent? They are manned by family farmers too, but the majority of them merely live on those farms and work the land for a side income. 1,635,000 are part-time and part-retirement farms, according to the most recent census. The remainder, some 375,000, comprise the hard core of agricultural poverty – and they are heavily concentrated in the Old South and the once Spanish-speaking areas of the Southwest, particularly in New Mexico. Nobody can want to keep these people on the kinds of farms they inhabit if it is humanly possible to help them earn a decent living anywhere else.

The "farm problem" is thus a complex of several problems. First, there is rural poverty. It has little or nothing to do with the agriculture that has developed in our time. People in rural areas who do not have the good land, or the skills, or the capital with which to make a beginning at family farming on a scale that is commensurate with the adoption of current agricultural technology should not be assisted to get into the farming business – but rather to leave it. They need far more help than the commercial family farmers, yet they get much less; indeed, they are not even provided for in the ordinary budget of the Department of Agriculture, which will dispense about $7 billion in the coming fiscal year, practically all of it for the benefit of commercial farmers.

The economic problems of business farmers are of another order. Prices of agricultural products have always tended to fluctuate wildly in a free market because of the inelasticity of demand. There is a limit to the number of cabbages people will eat, and hence buy, no matter how sharply the price may fall. The government – to be specific, the Department of Agriculture – does have a part to play in the stabilization of prices of farm commodities which are harvested at much the same time and might otherwise be dumped on the market in such volume as to break down the brittle price structure. This could be done by returning to the original intent of the present price-support legislation which, when it was enacted in the Thirties at the insistence of the Roosevelt Administration, provided farmers with government loans on their output to enable them to hold their crops and sell as conditions might warrant through the long months between one harvest and another.

THE FORMER HEIR APPARENT IS NOT APPARENT NOW

Who Will Succeed Adenauer?

Bonn

The Chairman of the Free Democratic Party, Erich Mende, who has just returned from the US where he met with high officials, including President Kennedy, has said privately, but repeatedly, that Chancellor Adenauer will have to retire by the end of October, 1963. This time-limit, Mende has indicated, is irrevocable. The Free Democrats are ready to tolerate only so long a man who is manifestly aging and whose ideas on foreign policy are tending to become more and more rigid. That was made clear when they joined the present government coalition last autumn. Then, as now, the Free Democrats insisted on the Chancellor getting out before his potential four-year term in office would end in the autumn of 1965. But they did not then lay down a hard cut-off date. Today they are impatient. And so, for the first time, Adenauer's days are definitely numbered. The Free Democrats can bring down the West German government in the event that their demands are not fulfilled.

Except for a brief period during which Adenauer toyed with the idea of resigning the Chancellorship and becoming President instead, he has deferred the question of succession on the grounds that "political Crown Princes" are notoriously unsuccessful (Eden, Benes, Nixon), and that good decisions are taken after mature reflection and at the right tactical moment. But those who believe he is such an egotist that he would prefer to leave the question of the succession to others, or even to die in harness, are likely to be proved wrong. Adenauer has a huge veneration for the principle of continuity; he will seek to become the power behind the throne as soon as he ceases to sit on it.

A few months ago very few Germans would have had much doubt about who would follow Adenauer. The Minister of Economics, Ludwig Erhard, is far more popular in the Christian Democratic Party and in the electorate than any rival. He is the obvious "caretaker Chancellor" for a two-year period, and for longer too, if those two years would prove his talent in foreign affairs and Cabinet management. The thought in many

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minds has been that Erhard would be content with two years as Chancellor and would then be ready to move on to the Presidency for which he would be such an obvious choice. Thus, the road to the highest political office would be opened in 1965 to a younger man.

Here, too, there has hitherto seemed to be one very obvious candidate, Franz-Josef Strauss, abounding in vigor and ambition, and only 46 years old. He has tremendously strong South German backing, as Chairman of the South German "Christian Socialist" branch of the Christian Democratic Party and as "favorite son" of Bavaria. He has an outstanding intellect and a gift for rapid understanding of new problems and for making unhesitating decisions. He built up close connections with the leading Free Democrats before last autumn's elections and acted as principal go-between in the organization of the government coalition. He has close friends among leading industrialists, in whose houses he and Erich Mende discuss the political future of the Federal Republic. Strauss' record as Minister of Defense is one of supreme administrative efficiency; the build-up of the German contingent to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been carried out without a single serious hitch.

Erhard in 1963, Strauss in 1965 – a few months ago that seemed the likely sequence of the succession to Adenauer. Erhard, it was thought in some quarters, might stand again in 1965 and surrender office, like Adenauer, in mid-term; but this was a mere detail of timing. Strauss, it was confidently predicted, would in any case become Foreign Minister when Erhard became Chancellor. Here was the ideal "team," combining experience and energy, economic *savoir-faire* and political talent, along with a powerful aggregate of popularity in the party and the country.

The picture has changed. It began to change when feeling in the Free Democratic Party began to run against Erhard, and when Adenauer introduced into the Cabinet as "Minister for Special Problems" Dr. Heinrich Krone, an old associate of the pre-Nazi days of the Catholic Center Party and a close confidant of the Chancellor's during the last six or seven years. In his personal quarrels with Adenauer, Erhard has shown that he is unable to thrust himself to the fore; he needs someone to do it for him, and it is questionable whether any leading Christian Democrat will undertake this task next year if Adenauer sets his face resolutely against it. However, if Adenauer decides to put Krone into the Palais Schaumburg chancellery offices, who will oppose this sound, conscientious, popular man – unless it is on the very obvious grounds that he will be "steered" by Adenauer after taking office?

Giving way to Krone in the autumn of 1963 is the first part of Adenauer's plan for the succession. The second part is the building-up of the new Foreign Minister, Gerhard Schroeder, as the man to succeed Krone in 1965. Like Strauss, Schroeder is alert, intelligent, hard-working and efficient. He is not quite as young, 51, but the five years' difference is more than counterbalanced by outstanding physical fitness, the result of self-discipline as much as of physique. Since he took over the Foreign Ministery from the honest but lackluster von Brentano, Schroeder has made a powerful impression on US and British statesmen. He has the qualities of the pragmatic, practical Anglo-Saxon. Unlike Strauss, he happens to be a close friend of Adenauer's, who is giving him a far freer rein as Foreign Minister than was ever given von Brentano.

During the last few months Strauss made two bad mistakes and had one piece of gratuitous bad luck. The bad luck was the Minister's connection with a Munich firm, *Fibag*, which secured valuable contracts in 1960 to build housing for the families of US servicemen stationed in West Germany. Strauss has been accused obliquely of obtaining personal financial advantage out of these contracts, which had to be authorized by his Ministry. This veiled accusation has led to libel suits and cross-suits, to the appointment of a government commission of inquiry and to a prospective Bundestag investigation. Strauss will doubtless prove his probity, but the affair has done him much harm.

His two mistakes are more serious. In the first place, he did not last autumn take the post of Foreign Minister which was his for the asking. The Free Democrats secured the removal of von Brentano and they would have gladly backed Strauss' candidature. But the latter decided to remain Minister of Defense, and his rival-to-be, Schroeder, was transferred from the complex and thankless Ministry of the Interior. This will give Adenauer a big argument in favor of Schroeder in due course; the Chancellor's theory that the head of the government must have a first-hand knowledge of foreign affairs has never been contested.

In the second place, Strauss has made a major issue out of his desire for NATO to become the "fourth nuclear power," owning and disposing of its own nuclear deterrent. This plan has aroused strong opposition among the Federal Republic's allies, and it is questionable whether it would increase the effectiveness of Western defense. Though he has seemed to backtrack on this issue within recent days, Strauss had long insisted on a decision by the end of 1962 (this may be one reason why he did not try to become Foreign Minister). A running battle within the Western Alliance over this question will do no one any good – Strauss least of all. This, then, is the final reason for believing that Strauss' star is on the wane – even though there can be dramatic changes in the internal struggle for power between now and October, 1963.

Terence Prittie

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A Way Toward Peace in Indochina

by William H. Hunter

My credentials, if not especially glamorous, are perhaps special. From mid-1946 until early 1950, as a Lieutenant in the Naval Reserve, I was the only US military representative assigned to Indochina. I had an opportunity to observe the war against the French from several points of view and was in close contact with Commanding Generals (Raoul Salan for one), the High Commissioner, Admirals and Chiefs of Intelligence. Before the fighting broke out, on December 19, 1946, I had long interviews with Ho Chi Minh and Vo Nguyen Giap, as well as lesser figures now in the Viet Minh regime. In 1949, in casting about for alternative Vietnamese leadership, I wrote the first US intelligence evaluation of Ngo Dinh Diem and suggested that he was the only promising non-Communist nationalist of whom I knew.

As the war moved toward its climax, and in spite of some urgency in my dispatches, even my small representation was abolished – for reasons of economy and disinterest at high levels. When I returned to Washington I was not even asked to report. The Korean War changed that. My post was filled by Major General Erskine, USMC, and a staff of 150. Our interest in Indochina has since risen steadily, though the accomplishment of our national objectives in Vietnam seems more remote than ever. Why is this so?

Perhaps our most serious mistake has been in trying to identify Ho Chi Minh with someone else. He and his regime have become, I am sure, completely Communist. But he is not another Ulbricht or Mao Tse-tung, and the Viet Minh Party was, for many years, a coalition which included various shades of political opinion; conservatives and Catholics as well as Communists. As its leader, Ho came to power not to impose an ideology on an unwilling mass of people, as did Ulbricht or Kadar, nor to overthrow a corrupt, unpopular regime, as did Castro and Mao, but rather as the chief of a national movement of liberation and independence. Inevitably, whatever he has done since, for many Vietnamese he retains the aura of a George Washington, with Dien Bien Phu as his Yorktown. As the head of a tightly organized police state, there is no prospect of his being overthrown, either now or in the immediate future. We will either have to destroy Ho Chi Minh and his followers by direct military action or accept the fact of their existence for years to come.

Our next mistake, I suggest, has been to retain the policy inherited from the French – the policy of containment. What we are saying today is, in effect: "Let us create a peaceful and prosperous country in the South. This will act as a bulwark against the further advance of Communism, and a working demonstration of the advantages of freedom and the benefits of American assistance. As a necessary part of this, we will provide weapons and training to enable the people in our area to defend themselves against encroachments from the North." I do not quarrel with this objective; I wish only to point out that in terms of practical results things are going from bad to worse.

The biggest single reason, and the one most ignored, is racism, and related to that is the problem of communication. I am a fair linguist but a wretched singer; to speak Vietnamese you have to be good at both. I doubt that five percent of the Americans now in that country can converse with its people. In any event, we are the wrong color, and most Vietnamese are as race conscious as Orville Faubus. If you imagine a Chinese sheriff speaking Cantonese and trying to keep order in Tombstone, Arizona, in its heyday, you will begin to see the problem.

There are other reasons. For one thing, to continue the analogy, the "bad" guys are much tougher than the "good"; they are better disciplined and there are many more of them. North Vietnam is overpopulated, its people are lean and hungry. During 15 years of war they have learned all there is to know about guerrilla tactics; many know little else. For centuries, too, the North has been the intellectual heart of Vietnam, an area of craftsmanship and industry, having the same relationship to the South as Peking has to Canton.

Given, then, the cause of national unification, case-hardened Communist cadres, and a profound racism working against us and consequently against the Ngo Dinh Diem regime we support, it is a wonder that things are not far worse than they are.

Since the US cannot, however, leave Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to their fate, we must examine other possibilities. There are two alternatives: the first, and most obvious, is to crush the Ho regime by force. This would involve all-out war, possibly with nuclear weapons. I am sure that the risks and benefits of such a

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course must have been contemplated many times. Taking into account the aftermath of such a war (not to mention the very large forces that would be needed to fight it), the effect on world opinion and the possibility that such action would set off World War III under rather unfavorable conditions, our strategists have rejected this alternative. Instead, it appears, the area is to be a kind of proving ground for guerrilla tactics and gadgetry on a rather limited scale. On other terrain, and against a less formidable enemy, this policy might succeed. In Vietnam, it can only lead to another Dien Bien Phu, or series of lesser defeats, in which we and our allies are the victims. Recent battalion-strength engagements relatively close to Saigon foreshadow the failure of the limited approach, so often predicted in *The New Republic.*

If we are unable to contain the Viet Minh forces indefinitely, and unwilling to commit the strength necessary to destroy them, is any other course open to us but to attempt to find a political solution?

There are several factors which are favorable to such a solution. For one thing, alliance with the two great powers of the Communist world has not paid off for North Vietnam. It would not, indeed, be too far fetched to describe the Viet Cong as a kind of WPA for otherwise unemployable Vietnamese. Vo Nguyen Giap, military chief, and number-two man in the Viet Minh hierarchy, once told me that his country must industrialize rapidly and on a broad scale so as to have a proletariat on which a Communist society could be built. He must realize by this time that his program can only be achieved with capitalist assistance, for his Communist friends have been notably stingy with what little they have to offer.

The current and unmistakably widening gap between China and Russia must also be a matter of concern. The time is near when Ho Chi Minh must choose sides, and the decision will be extremely difficult, as his uneasy behavior at the 22nd Party Congress in Moscow clearly indicates. In this connection, the 1,000-year-old fear of Chinese conquest which every Vietnamese feels instinctively should not be forgotten. Given a choice, Ho might prefer to be a Tito or a Gomulka rather than a Hoxha.

There is, in any case, much in what we know of Ho Chi Minh's character and his equivocal position in the Communist world to encourage us. Cold-shouldered by Stalin, violently denounced by the French Communists under the leadership of Maurice Thorez, and given little support by Mao during the fighting with the French, he has small reason to feel deeply indebted to his fellow ideologists abroad. In talks I had with him before the war against the French, he seemed to me more a fervent Nationalist with Communist background than a Communist who just happened to be a Vietnamese. His admiration for things American in general and FDR in particular appeared authentic. Certainly a whole spectrum of political opinion, ranging from the Catholic right to the Trotsky left, was allowed complete freedom of expression, both within the Viet Minh and in a number of other political parties. The constitution which was framed borrowed heavily from our own: it was no blueprint for a totalitarian state.

That it has become one, I have no doubt; but because of innate hostility to the Chinese, the remoteness of the Russians, and Ho's position in the Communist world, North Vietnam has never become an abject satellite like Hungary or East Germany. Refugees report that varying opinions are still alive in North Vietnam and widespread acts of sabotage confirm this. Catholic and racial minorities (Thai, Lao, etc.) are significant elements, but even more important is an ineradicable trait of character: farouche nationalism coupled with violent fractiousness. Vietnamese friends used to tell me that any five of their countrymen could be counted on to form six major political parties and several important splinter groups, all intensely nationalistic, but otherwise at sword's points. The stresses of de-Stalinization, economic difficulties and ideological hair-splitting, superimposed on a character so basically emotional and quarrelsome, are certain to create divisions, even among the most dedicated Communists.

If one is willing to assume that a number of factors not only make negotiations with the Viet Minh practical but also permit some optimism about their outcome, we have the problem of how to initiate them.

It would certainly seem that first moves should be on a completely unofficial basis. A visit to Hanoi by an American journalist of stature might be possible. In interviews with Ho Chi Minh and others of the Viet Minh leadership, a competent journalist would perhaps be able to learn whether or not any basis exists for further approaches.

Second, if his findings are encouraging, talks could be scheduled between US and Viet Minh representatives on neutral ground. The US aim would be a temporary truce in Vietnam and Laos, to be followed by negotiations for a *modus vivendi* for the three governments involved.

Third, if peace is restored to Indochina, we should be prepared to grant diplomatic recognition to the North Vietnam Government and, ultimately, economic assistance in return for an end to the activities of the Viet Cong in the South, and the Pathet Lao in the West. Our objective would be to relieve one more sizable group of people from economic (and to a lesser extent political) dependence on the whims of the Communist giants. This would be worth doing even if it did not extricate us from what is now our most hazardous foreign commitment.

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"I Want To Tell You Something"

Listening to a Young Angolan Revolutionary

by David Ball and Jeremy Larner

What follows is the result of many conversations with a 24-year-old Angolan who is in his second year at one of the great Parisian Science Faculties. He is one of the few Angolese Negroes who is able to pursue his studies on the University level and has been active in the clandestine groups – and they are not all of one political coloration – recently formed in Angola for the revolutionary training of future generations. His main concerns are not political, however, and he does not claim to be exceptionally well-informed about the world. "I have no ambition to be a Leader of the People," he told us; "all I want is to be a specialized worker in my own country." But in less than three years he will be a licensed engineer, and whether he desires it or not, that alone makes him a member of the future governing class of Angola; for there will be very few Angolan engineers in this decade.

Paris

I want to tell you something. Angola is one of the richest countries in Africa: it has fertile soil, a good climate, minerals, diamonds, gold, a long coast with good natural harbors. . . . Yet the life-span of the average Angolan Negro is 28 years. The Portuguese force the Negroes to grow cotton and coffee for Portuguese companies instead of food for their own families. Almost all the land is owned by a handful of rich Portuguese, who often do not live there themselves. Or else it is owned by the Portuguese Catholic Church. Each day the workers are taken out to the plantations in truckloads; they work under a boss who has been paid to deliver them, paid by the head. The boss in turn pays the workers less than $1 a day; if they protest, they are beaten, not secretly, but out in the open, as you would beat a slave. The workers' wives stay in the villages while the husbands work the plantations, but the women, too, must cultivate a crop. If a woman does not work hard enough to please them, she is thrown on the ground and beaten until the blood flows.

Almost all the Angolan Negroes are illiterates. In theory many go to Church schools, but the Church schools use the children to work the Church farms all day, and teach them nothing but the catechism. Child-labor is common, and it is not unusual to see a coffee-plantation boss kick a child who he thinks is not working well.

One of the Angolan independence movements wanted, and still wants, to set up a separate Angolese state. They gave a choice to the Portuguese settlers: either join us, remain neutral, or leave. Then guerrilla troops began to arm. They had some quick successes to begin with, in fact seized a number of villages. But look, we have no airforce, no artillery, no bombs, sometimes even no guns – so that when the Portuguese troops arrived fully armed with machine-guns, automatic rifles and American-made jet planes, the villages that were "won" had to be evacuated. The Portuguese method of retaking a village is very simple: you burn it with napalm, so that all the inhabitants are burned alive. So the rebels began to leave the villages and take to the high grass. Over 40,000 refugees live in mud huts across the Congo border; they walked hundreds of miles, wounded and sick, to escape, and are now sicker and hungrier than they were before. But when the rainy season comes, they start to fight again. In the rainy season, you can fight: the Portugese tanks get stuck in the mud, and the high grass covers you.

Can't the educated Angolans do anything about this peacefully?

What educated Angolans? – *Negro* Angolese? Such as they are, they have been arrested. My brother, for example, who is a journalist, has disappeared. We think he has been taken to Portugal.

You know, you in America seem to see these colonial revolutions as steps in the march of world Communism, directed by Russia or China. To me, a revolution is the attempt of a people to get rid of its Western exploiters and reach a decent standard of living. That's what happened in China, Indochina, and all the other places. In Vietnam, the Communist soldiers marched

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for days without stopping through rain and mud. Western newspapers say it is Communist discipline; actually, they are people fighting for rights which mean life or death to them.

Why do the colonial powers resist the native demands?

Don't be naïve! Money! For Portugal, Angola is simply a source of material wealth to be taken out of the country in the form of coffee, copper, diamonds, etc. In Cuba, it was sugar. In Algeria, oil.

But couldn't the Western powers accede to native demands and still benefit from the resources?

Sure. That's what the Belgians did in the Congo – at least in Katanga – and what the French are trying to do in certain parts of Africa – Senegal, Dahomey, and to a great extent Tunisia and Morocco. When this happens the new nation simply continues to follow the economic dictates of the colonial power, because European "advisers" remain to direct things, European engineers continue to control the mineral resources, European companies own the transportation, the telephones. And at the same time the Europeans develop a new class, a native bourgeoisie that replaces the ruling whites – but things run exactly as they were run before. Moise Tshombe is the number one example of this kind of "native leader."

Does any of this justify going Communist?

We want our country to be developed in a *planned* way, with our government making and controlling the plan. That's the only way a nation's resources *can* be developed – unless you wait a few hundred years. Production of all kinds must be coordinated, organized and planned in the most efficient way – this means central planning. Especially we must have agrarian reform – so that the farmers will own their own land, and not the Portuguese coffee companies or the American fruit companies. If all of this is "Communism" – then that's what we want.

But doesn't Communism mean Moscow control?

Do you think that when a country fights for its freedom at such high costs over so long a time (eight years now in Algeria!) – do you think it will turn around and give up that freedom? What it wants is to work out its problems for the benefit of its people – and not for the benefit of the Russians or the Americans. I must say, however, that we have been exploited by American companies, by French companies, by English companies and of course by Portuguese companies, yet we have not been exploited by the Russians nor do I see any sign of such a thing beginning. When the Russians invite thousands of our young men to study at their great engineering schools without tuition, they ask nothing in return; American gifts always have political strings attached. The essential difference here is economic. It is inevitable that the West, as a capitalist society, must expand its economy constantly, must seek markets, profits, and raw materials among the underdeveloped nations of the world.

Does not Russia, too, seek markets, profits and raw materials?

No. Your American economy must be fed with an ever-rising production of consumer goods – cars, for instance – and, as far as I can see, fed with money put into circulation through defense contracts and foreign investments. Your economy is an expanding economy, and basically a war economy. But defense spending is a drag on Russia's economic machine; and they have no worldwide investments the way the Americans do.

What about the satellite nations?

You used to call Yugoslavia a "satellite" of Russia, didn't you? Do you think she still is? Or Poland, for that matter? And how about Albania? You seem to think that because a country has thrown out its capitalists – perhaps, as in Czechoslovakia with Russian aid – and naturally looks to the most advanced Communist nation for leadership, that it has become a "Russian satellite."

How can there be a "Communist world" without Communist world conquest?

By the kind of uprisings seen in Angola, Algeria, Vietnam, Laos and China – by the successful African revolutions in Guinea and Ghana – and soon no doubt in India, where I promise you a real revolution will erupt the moment Nehru dies. Europe will be Communist, too – consider the strength of the Socialist Party in Belgium, and the Communist Parties in France and Italy. The trend of the world today is unmistakably toward Communism; capitalism has had it.

I was among those naïve enough to hope for a real change in American foreign policy with the election of Kennedy. The Cuban affair quickly dispelled my illusions. I was absolutely stunned when Stevenson, got up on the floor of the United Nations and told a series of outright lies.

Now I read that Kennedy is allocating money for land-reform in Latin America. Sounds good, doesn't it? But the money, of course, must be distributed through private enterprise, with great care that the rich are not forced to become any poorer. All of Kennedy's American money will be used – as American money is always used – to strengthen the old ruling class, perhaps this time in some new positions. If you're going to give the farmers the land, it has to come from somewhere – or

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rather someone. And this someone isn't going to like the idea. If he resists – well, what can we do, except put him in jail, or, if necessary, kill him. Yet when he is shot, "democrats" in the West will cry "terrorism" or "Communist dictatorship."

Can't genuine land reform be accomplished without setting up a Communist totalitarian state – by some form of social democracy, for example?

I'm not sure what you mean by "Communist totalitarian state," but do you honestly think there can be democracy in a situation where 90 percent of the people can't read, and hardly eat enough to be able to think of anything beyond mere survival?

Then you propose to replace one kind of elite by another?

In the early stages. And yet if you look at Cuba, for example, I don't think the word elite will fit. It's not an elite when masses of people are given their land, when they are taught to read and write, when they are armed and compose their own army; and when, in short, everything is being done to put them in a position where they can take part in the running of their country as informed citizens with a decent standard of living. Would Franco do this? Would Salazar? For that matter, would the French do it in Africa, or the Americans in Latin America?

You insist that Russia does not attach strings to its aid. May we remind you of Hungary?

There are two separate things – a Russophile and a Communist. Russia does many things that I do not approve of: the firing of the superbomb comes to mind. And there was a strike among some of the peasant communities in Russia a few months ago; the authorities suppressed the strike with violence and thousands of peasants died.

If not to Russia, where then do you look for your model of Communism?

China. The Russians in 1917 destroyed a decadent bureaucracy, but now they have replaced it with still another bureaucracy. Of course, they have made amazing progress: they have accomplished in 50 years what it took the West 250 to do. And I believe Khrushchev when he says that they are moving toward real Communism. But the bureaucracy is there, and will be hard to dislodge.

In China, however, the true basis of government has been created by agrarian reform. The communes belong to those who farm them, and they work out their own problems, turning to the central government only for planning and coordination. Before the Revolution, China was a country exploited by all the major European powers, overpopulated, divided by language differences, vast expanses of terrain and different customs, and united only by widespread famine under the rule of the imperialists and their native partners. Now in 11 years China has come a long way towards solving its economic problems. As in Cuba, schools have been built all over the country. The leaders of our Movement – like the leaders of other underdeveloped countries – have consulted with Mao Tse-tung about strategy and tactics in our fight for liberation.

When you speak of China helping other countries become independent, are you referring to Tibet?

Too little is known about that incident to condemn China. Didn't Tibet once belong to China? Don't they speak Chinese? It is possible that there was repression, as in Hungary, but what were the real sentiments of the majority of the Tibetan people? I really don't know. But I think that in 20 years the whole world will be Communist. And for the first time in human history, the problem of hunger will have been solved all over the world; there will be no more inequality of races; people will not drive Cadillacs in America while others die in mud huts in Angola.

Will there be freedom of speech or of the press?

One should not have the right to say stupid and harmful things. Take the Portuguese peasant and tell him that the Angolans are a bunch of Communist devils who want to take his land, and he will believe you – he cannot read, he knows nothing of the world. How can this man be expected to judge between two ideas, between two systems. My idealism has its limits; after we have carefully shown a man the way, we want to be very certain he does not lose it.

Who is to decide which books are harmful?

A committee of writers – perhaps with the aid of government advisers – as in Pasternak's case. What could be fairer? But your emphasis on this question reveals your twisted point of view. It is amazing to me how you can be so concerned with an idea you call "liberty" when so high a percentage of the world's people is suffering in real slavery. For the laborer in Africa or South America, there is no question of free press: the problem is to keep alive. What good is your so-called free press – which prints lies whenever business interests are at stake and which I notice your President has recently asked to censor itself – what good has it done the colored two-thirds of the world? Your assertions about "liberty" sound good; but they are based on a situation in which a minority have bought their freedom – to the extent that they have freedom – at the expense of an overwhelming majority. We are that majority.

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By Hook or Crook

The Hon. Richard M. Nixon seems to be one of those unfortunates whose doom it is always to be ill-served by their friends. Those well-wishers who put up the slush fund while he was in the Senate came within an ace of ending his political career in 1952; those Washington advisers, presumably friendly, who urged him into that South American adventure against the advice of the men on the ground did worse – they almost got him lynched; Allen Dulles, who is not known to have been unfriendly, unwittingly did him an ill turn when he failed to explain to Nixon that Kennedy was not informed of the Cuban invasion preparations, leading Nixon to make a serious mistake in his book; and now it appears that even his research assistant let him down by permitting Nixon to insert in the same book a passage making it apparent that Alger Hiss could have been framed.

Since Hiss has been shouting for years that he was, in fact, framed, this was much worse than merely a typographical error, since it adds another wisp of smoke to the murkiness that already clouds that incident; and the wisp is not cleared away by the chief researcher's assertion that the passage was inserted through error by one of his subordinates. What else could the man say? It's a poor hireling who will not take the rap for his employer in such a case.

It is pretty generally agreed that it was the typewriter that sunk Hiss, and it sunk him because the jury believed – and Hiss' own counsel at the time believed – that it was authentic because there was no possible way in which the prosecution could have planted a fake. Now Nixon's own book reveals that there was a way; and while the assertion that it was all a mistake by a subordinate may be perfectly true, it is the kind of truth that has too much the look of a lame excuse.

If the Hiss Case had been otherwise clear of suspicion this episode would have been shrugged off by fair-minded men. But it is not clear. On the contrary, throughout it has been clouded by the way in which it was conducted. There are many who, without any idea whether Hiss was guilty or innocent, look with strong distaste on the methods by which the man was prosecuted by Nixon, among others. By such methods, they believe, you could convict anybody of anything – you could convict George Washington of having shot Abraham Lincoln. The use of such methods, in this view, inflicted more permanent damage on the United States than what Hiss was alleged to have done.

The basic error of the men who handled this case for the government is one into which police and prosecuting attorneys are all too likely to fall – the error of believing that there can be no greater evil than that a criminal should escape paying the penalty for his crime. But there is a greater evil and a very great American man of the law pointed it out more than 40 years ago. "I think it a less evil," said Holmes, "that some criminals should escape than that the government should play an ignoble part."

The statute of limitations was embodied in the law because it is a matter of common knowledge that it is difficult, sometimes impossible, for an innocent man to defend himself against charges based on something that happened 10 years ago. By using technicalities, the government evaded that statute in Hiss' case; and there is no doubt of what Holmes would have thought of governmental evasion of its own laws even to prevent the escape of a criminal. But since Mr. Nixon is not another Holmes, perhaps it is less than fair to hold him to the rigorous standard that the old judge set.

But it was Richard Nixon who, albeit inadvertently, brought the Hiss case back into the news. Accordingly he has only himself to blame if his conduct in that case comes again under public scrutiny and arouses again the distaste that some have always felt. To say that the blame is not his, but lies upon his misguided friends – well, if not friends, certainly associates – is to beg the question. A man always chooses his friends and usually his associates; so if they are characteristically misguided, it is a reasonable inference that the man's own judgment is none too sound.

Partly (and many people think largely) at Nixon's instigation, the government played a controversial part in the Hiss case. Hiss himself is now out of it; guilty or not, he has paid the penalty and his account is squared. But if in the process the government played an ignoble part, then in Holmes' opinion – and Holmes was a wise man – a greater evil has been inflicted upon the country by those who managed the case for the government, of whom Mr. Nixon was one of the most active, than could possibly have been inflicted on us by Hiss's escape. This is the issue revived by Nixon's book, and it is not one he can easily dodge.

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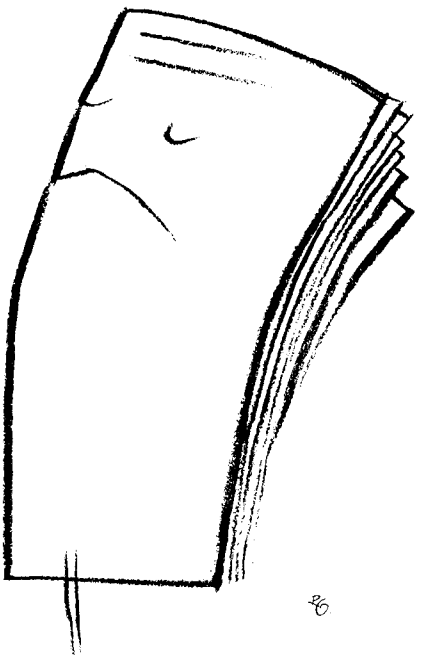
Why Dailies Die

by Ben Bagdikian



In terms of community leadership, the Jackson, Mississippi, *Daily News* must be one of the worst newspapers in the United States. In ordinary news coverage of its own city it is not the worst but it is pretty bad. For national and international news it is one of the more flippant newspapers in a state capital. Its circulation has failed to keep up with the city's growth in population, education and wealth. It has little impact beyond its immediate area.

The proprietors of the *News* are disliked by enough Jacksonians so that seven years ago nearly 900 of them subscribed a million dollars to start a competing afternoon newspaper – the Jackson *State Times*.

All over the United States bitter politicians, unhappy merchants and grumbling subscribers have yearned for, or at least talked about, such a revolution.

On January 16, 1962, the Jackson *State Times*, "The Newspaper Owned by the People," sold its subscription lists and "good will" to its hated competitor and went out of business.

The death of the Jackson *State Times* is symptomatic of the larger epidemic that has been sweeping American journalism for 40 years, cutting down, decade after decade, the number of newspapers in the country at large and the variety available to any city. In 1920 there were 552 cities with competing daily newspapers; today there are fewer than 60. There are 1,700 daily papers, but 95 percent of cities have no competing newspaper managements and in only 24 cities do papers compete during the same time of day. Local monopoly on printed daily news is normal in the US.

This numbing normalcy usually is attributed to conspiracy and conflict among robber baron publishers, to "rising costs," to public apathy, or to the petrification of what used to be a human profession by the stony infiltration of big business.

These causes are real. Publishers do conspire, sometimes explicitly and more often through the telepathy of common experience, for greater mutual profit. Costs have risen. Readers often seem apathetic, though this is hard to distinguish from a sense of powerlessness. And metropolitan newspaper publishing more and more has taken on the attributes of an industry.

But there are underlying forces, some unique in this country and some unique to the newspaper business, that are more potent than all of these:

1. The United States, unlike other large industrial societies, is organized on a local basis. The central institutions of the people – schools, police, property tax powers, urban development, political leadership – are controlled in each place by the citizens in that place. As a result the daily press in America is essentially a local press.

2. American daily papers, like those everywhere, are not paid for by their readers, who barely support the cost of delivery. The rest, 75 to 80 percent of the total, is paid for by advertisers who purchase white space in the paper at rates based largely on circulation.

3. These two facts – each paper rooted to its own metropolitan area and the bulk of its income dependent on as large a sale as possible within that area – have created powerful pressures to sell at least one paper to every household in its zone. To do this a paper must appeal not to a specialized audience but to a wide

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variety of tastes and interests; it becomes a publication of multiple functions – news, opinions, entertainment, advertising. No one of these elements is enough to sell a newspaper to every family, but a combination may be.

4. Two important steps in the mechanical production of newspapers are almost a century apart in technology. The composing room, where written words are cast into raised metal letters in preparation for printing, has had few radical innovations since the turn of the century; production per man-hour has changed little in 75 years. But presses and folding machines have changed enormously in capacity and speed; each pressman produces far more than he ever did before. This means that production costs for a 24-page paper of 20,000 circulation are about the same as for a 24-page paper of 40,000 circulation, except for the small additional cost of presstime, paper and ink and wear and tear for the last half of the run for the larger paper. Mass production pays.

5. Advertisers are quite aware of this. Their prime concern is: how much does it cost to get one line of advertising into the hands of one reader. Thus if the publisher charges the most attractive rates he can and the advertiser buys the most economical space, money flows to larger papers even without collusion.

The result is an almost irresistible trend to monopoly, toward one plant with one overhead. Where there is competition it tends to be an armed truce, one paper in the morning field and the other in the afternoon, and all waiting for any sign of instability that will lead to final, efficient consolidation. Or a city may be large enough to support specialized papers like the tabloids (of all sizes) in New York and Boston. Where there is outright competition it is a tug-of-war in equilibrium. The balance may come from equal circulations and advertising revenues, or from outside money making up for deficiencies on one side. But each side knows that, as in a tug-of-war, once the friction of fixed position has been overcome and one side begins to pull ahead, the acceleration in his favor becomes irresistible. Competing local publishers read their circulation and advertising statistics like fathers watching the temperature of a feverish child, as well they might. Most of them feel in their bones that there is no longer any second place in community newspaper publishing.

What Happened in Jackson

It is not likely that the rebellious band who started the Jackson *State Times* in 1955 had such things in mind. Their new paper seemed unbeatable. Jackson had grown from 22,000 people in 1920 to over 100,000 in 1955. A postwar boom brought enlarged per capita wealth. In 10 years the percentage of school-age children in higher grades had doubled. All this meant more and more potential newspaper readers in Jackson.

The city's existing papers had failed to keep up, either in manner or content. For a generation the city was involved in a printed battle between the Hederman family, large landholders who owned the morning *Clarion-Ledger*, and Major Fred Sullens, a bizarre, witty and flamboyant firebrand who edited and partly owned the afternoon *Daily News*.

Major Sullens had no mild opinions. He and a Governor wrestled and spilled blood in the lobby of the Walthall Hotel. When another Governor he disliked, Theodore Bilbo, visited Holland, the Major announced in the *Daily News* that the Governor was such an uncontrollable ladies' man that when he landed the Dutch band played "God Save the Queen."

Of all the Sullens hates, the fiercest was for the Hedermans. He accused them of using the *Clarion-Ledger* to promote their own interests at the expense of the public good, of slanting, suppressing or inventing the news. For years the foremost fact in Jackson journalism was the Hederman-Sullens feud. In 1954 when the Hedermans bought a controlling interest in the *Daily News* the city was shocked. About 20 business leaders decided to start a new afternoon paper. These were bond dealers, retail merchants, insurance executives, bankers and car dealers. Cab drivers and waitresses joined to buy shares, the smallest holding $10, the largest $25,000, for a total of $1 million.

Like many non-newspaper groups – and not a few within the trade – they mistook the printed paper for their only product and the first edition of the *State Times* as their automatic triumph.

The errors, at least by hindsight, are staggering. The first publisher was a respected college president who, unfortunately, had no experience with newspapers. The editor, eventually, was a part-time employee who spent most of his time in another city. The group spent $400,000 on a new building and another $400,000 to furnish and equip it, yet they did not consider using new offset photographic reproduction systems which smaller papers can use to bypass the composing room (being used by a new competitive daily in Phoenix, Arizona). Before the first edition came off the presses, the million dollars was gone.

The *State Times'* competitor, the *Daily News*, was not vulnerable because its owners were unpopular but because it was not much of a newspaper and, together with its more solid morning sister, the *Clarion-Ledger*, it had failed to exploit the special advantages of a paper operating in a central city. With easy income from the dense metropolitan area, a paper can afford to extend its coverage to outer areas where there is less revenue per square mile but where long-range profit lies. Such a spread creates larger circulation to reduce overhead and raise adver-

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tising rates; it ties together the metropolis and the surrounding countryside in a news and marketing network of benefit to all; and it keeps out other papers. The *Clarion-Ledger* with 51,000 circulation and the *Daily News* with 41,000 might have radiated outward from the capital and dominated the state. Instead, out-of-state papers invaded inward and occupied Mississippi except for isolated pockets like Jackson. The Memphis papers, *Commercial Appeal* and *Press-Scimitar*, sell 72,000 papers daily in northern Mississippi. The New Orleans papers, *Times-Picayune* and *States-Item*, sell 20,000 in southern Mississippi. The outsiders maintain fulltime news bureaus in Jackson and more than 75 part-time correspondents throughout their circulation areas in Mississippi, more aggregate manpower and more circulation in the state than any Mississippi paper, including the biggest of all, the Hederman papers. There are days when there is more hard news about Mississippi in the Memphis and New Orleans papers than there is in the *Daily News*. One assumes this is profitable: neither the Tennessee nor the Louisiana paper is known to be obsessed by a desire to lose money.

So an original plan of the new Jackson paper to outflank its competitor by hiring part-time correspondents throughout the state and trucks to get the papers out made sense. But they succumbed to their central error: they misjudged how much time and how much money is required for a paper to take root, especially under the shade of an established plant. Within 18 months the statewide plan was withdrawn and the local *State Times* staff cut in half.

The new paper was superior to the *News* in selection and display of serious news, in identifying community problems and discussing alternatives in an atmosphere of reason. It exposed some routine political hijinks in state and city hall. The *State Times* was no progressive social pleader; it was economically conservative, racially segregationist (though not violent, like the *Daily News*) and broke no Jackson mores. The *Daily News* remained the provincial personal journal of its editor, a former photographer under Major Sullens but, alas, no Sullens. Where the Major was spirited, witty and outrageous, his successor is merely outrageous, with an inclination toward bathroom humor.

But the most noticeable area of competition between the two papers was in syndicated features. The *Daily News* and *Clarion-Ledger* had a total of 97 comic strips and cartoon panels a day, the *State Times* had 21 comic strips. Both had the full panoply of columnists, canned features and boilerplate "women's features" to garnish grocery and fashion ads.

The *State Times* limped from crisis to crisis. It lost a reliable $150,000 a year and a total of $1.5 million in its lifetime. This is not novel for early proprietorships of newspapers. When George and Dorothy Backer bought the *New York Post* in 1939, though it was an old paper in an ideologically sympathetic city, they lost $1.25 million the first year and smaller amounts annually until the eleventh year, after which the *Post* has consistently made money. Generally speaking, older papers established 40, 50 or 100 years ago with small investments (after all, Adolph Ochs took over *The New York Times* only 66 years ago with a borrowed $75,000) have been able to grow with reinvestment of money and credit from their growing papers and cities. But for new papers, facing giants already fullgrown, some drive other than conventional desire for profit must sustain the prolonged effort. If virtue is rewarded in the newspaper business, it takes its time.

Unready for the Long Ordeal

Established papers, even shoddy ones, have custom on their side. The habit of reading a particular newspaper in a particular way is one of the deeply ingrained personal practices Americans learn from childhood. The multiple attractions of the poorest newspaper entwine themselves in the daily lives of the subscriber, whether it means the reflex of scanning Page One, or surveying the life and times of Dick Tracy, or studying the ballscores. Readers shun withdrawal symptoms; barring sudden elimination, there is no answer but to dangle the new papers and wait – sometimes for a newer generation of readers.

Nothing in the *State Time's* finances or corporate organization prepared it for this kind of expensive ordeal. A strong man in control, with money behind him, skill in newspapering, convictions about his role, and a sturdy front when times are rough, is what a new paper needs. The *State Times* board of directors consisted of 50 men, many of them advertisers, all of them called upon regularly to make up the deficits. The tenuous balance that keeps competing papers from coalescing into monopoly is maintained or upset at times by psychological warfare. Rumors of failure or decline can stimulate advertisers to throw their lot with the expected victor. But when the *State Times* was in trouble, everyone knew it. Its circulation stayed far below its competitor's, between 26,000 and 21,000. (A similarly rebellious paper in Lima, Ohio, the *Citizen*, catapulted by a strike against the absentee-owned and eccentric Hoiles paper, the *News*, survives: the two papers have almost the same circulations.) With the *State Times's* failure to equal the *News* circulation, the near-equal advertising linage in 1956 showed a growing gap until in 1961 the new paper had 6 million lines and the older one almost 9 million.

The Hedermans steadily reduced advertising rates, offering a Thrifty Contract, a not-so-secret weapon of

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any morning-evening combination management. A common kind of advertising cost $2.34 an inch in the morning *Clarion-Ledger* and the same amount in the afternoon *News*. The *State Times* charged $1.97. But the combined papers offered to run such an ad in the morning paper for $2.34; if the same ad were used it could run in the afternoon paper for 42 cents. Thus, the advertiser got for 42 cents in a paper of 40,000 circulation, what he had to pay $1.97 for in a paper of 25,000 circulation.

"That," said the last publisher of the *State Times*, O. A. Robinson, "is what broke our back."

Yet it was a practical thing for the opposition to do. It cost them less to use the same ad in both papers so they could charge less. If it didn't they had the resources of associated properties – real estate, a third paper in Hattiesburg, radio and television stations, a job printing plant – to subsidize the fight.

The *State Times* went through all the worst fates of failing papers. To absorb the losses it was turned over to the corporation of one of the original backers, R. L. Dumas Milner whose Dumas Milner Corporation encompasses products like Pine Sol, Perma Starch and large auto dealerships. The paper became a tax loss subsidiary on the parent corporation, a parlous state for any social institution. In spring of 1961 when the parent corporation decided to issue public stock for the first time, the paper was transferred from the corporation to Milner personally. He warned merchants to support the paper or it would die. Either they didn't believe him or they couldn't resist the advertising bargain in the *News*. A few, sensing the paper was on its last legs, made their peace with the opposition. The last edition was published January 16, 1962.

About a week later the afternoon *Daily News*, newly reestablished as a monopoly, presented this Page One: Lead story, a bank robbery in a town 50 miles away; second lead, the editor's standing column of jokes and promotion; next to it, "Neighbor Boy Admits Slew Mother, Tot," a UPI story from Denver with no local significance; next to that "Stomps Baby to Death," a UPI story from Chicago with no local significance; dominating the top of the page a four-column photograph of a trapped robber in Los Angeles with no local significance; still above the fold, "Bare-Breasted Belles Debated," an AP story from Malaya about "brown-skinned women in their normal state of seminudity," the most prominent foreign news displayed.

This is the paper that survived in Jackson. Do bad papers drive out good? Is there a positive or negative relationship between quality and survival?

There are risks in generalizing about 1,700 newspapers. Daily publishing is a $3 billion industry, but it continues to be an economically blurred one. The American press is a conglomeration of isolated business duchies, each secretive about its balance sheet and income statement and therefore subject only to provincial and internal talents of analysis and not national or dispassionate ones. Consequently, much remains to be learned about the selection process that ordains one paper to survive and another to die. But some factors are obvious. Perhaps the plainest is the will and the wealth of the paper's owner.

Why Do Papers Sell?

But what if the will and wealth of two competing owners are equal? (They never are, but the hypothesis may be useful.) Given the flow toward monopoly in any city, and given the fact that the balance tips in favor of the paper with the larger circulation, the winner will be the man who best perceives what it is that welds a paper securely to the largest possible audience. This is not a simple perception. Publishers and editors themselves argue over what makes people buy newspapers.

Many social critics, for example, overlook the fact that advertising, quite aside from its revenue, is reading matter of compelling interest to a large number of readers. Marshall Field's prewar New York paper, *PM*, without advertisements, eventually had to assign reporters to write up department store and grocery prices as news. But advertisements are not unique or primary; they follow circulation, not vice versa. Papers devoted entirely to advertisements are throwaways, with minimal profit to both advertiser and publisher.

Nor is it possible to overlook entertainment, sports, and guides to broadcasting, movies and other diversions as ingredients in the decision of a reader to buy a particular paper every day. But given two competitors trying to concoct a winning combination, the entertainment elements are for the most part available from national syndicates by the yard, like sausage, and while there is a first-come first-served advantage, if a publisher spends enough he can develop a mass of popular syndicated features. But these do not guarantee his survival. When Robert McCormick's isolationist, McCarthyist, ultra-conservative *Washington Times-Herald* began losing its grip – despite the fact it was tied with the *Evening Star* for readership in Washington – it was sold to the third-place internationalist, liberal *Washington Post*. A social scientist, Stanley K. Bigman, surveyed 600 former readers of the original papers and found that the leading element in the loyalty of *Times-Herald* readers was the comics (29 percent liked these more than anything else); the leading elements of loyalty of *Post* readers were editorial policy (38 percent), followed by news coverage (35 percent). The merged paper shrewdly kept the *Times-Herald* comics and most of its syndicated columnists. Though the typical *Times-Herald* reader hated the

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Post's politics, within three months of the merger all but 10 percent of them were reading the new *Post & Times-Herald*, which went on to dominate the Washington field. Syndicated material is transferable.

But the success of a newspaper publisher depends on more than features. Any moderately talented Junior Achievement Club can contract to get them printed. The most enduring element in success is a paper's editorial-reportorial staff. It takes years, even decades to build a staff of quality, to give it unified direction and consistent high performance, but during this building process some significant side effects occur, important to corporate survival:

1. The staff becomes an operating organism with a force of its own, attracting to it young people in its own image and drawing from them what they see in the paper; and

2. The readers, growing up with what they see, come to expect what they have seen; in one generation a newspaper can create its own audience.

The emphasis on quality of news runs counter to a vestigial strain in American journalism: the idea that the giants of early mass circulation – Hearst, Pulitzer, Scripps – originally ran circuses in print and that any realistic, hard-boiled publisher directs his paper at a circus-minded reader. Proprietors dominated by this notion today usually overlook three things:

1. Hearst, Pulitzer and Scripps originally were screaming champions of the underdog, calling for such radical measures as public ownership of utilities, higher taxes on the rich, and more labor unions. If they were irresponsible in handling news, it was in a context of vigorous support for the aspirations of the mass reader. Since then most publishers (except for Pulitzer and a few others) have changed political sides. Circuses for the benefit of bankers lack a certain popular appeal.

2. The early builders of mass circulation generally paid a great deal of attention and money on building talent in their news staffs. Much of the result was not responsible news, but it was highly talented and shrewdly designed for the semi-literate, politically naïve citizen who may have been buying a daily paper for the first time.

3. The original Hearst-Pulitzer audience no longer exists. Neither do papers that are exactly like the original Hearst and Pulitzer, but the audience has changed faster than the papers. The parlor maid moving her lips as she reads the latest scandal is a reader-figure that dominates many journalistic minds. But the parlor maid has disappeared. In one generation the American population has moved from rural areas into big cities and suburbs, the number of adults who attended high school has doubled, the number of white collar workers has doubled, and where before the war a 30 percent minority of families earned more than $3,000 a year, now a majority of 70 percent do so (both measured in 1950 dollars). All of these characteristics, according to a 1959 Bureau of the Census survey, are those of high newspaper readership.

At the same time, swelling city life has involved its citizens in an urgent concern with highways, urban development, shifts in employment and national programs affecting employment, with school building and programs, and given them a sense of personal concern unfolding with public affairs. There is some evidence that even if most readers don't read all such stories every day, they value the presence of such stories in their papers for the times and circumstances when they do wish to read them. If the local paper fails to give them such news reliably or understandably, the city-dweller can now buy newsmagazines or one of the national newspapers, or he can spend more time with radio and television, or he can buy the growing suburban weeklies and once insignificant suburban dailies, which are today filling in the areas that the big metropolitan papers fail to cover adequately.

Emphasis on news is demonstrably profitable in some cases – if one waits long enough and assumes accompanying good business management. Before World War II, *The New York Times* and the *New York Herald-Tribune* had about equal circulations. When their newsprint was fixed by ration during wartime, the *Tribune* decided to use its newsprint for a maximum amount of advertising (*i.e.*, immediate profits). The *Times* decided to use its newsprint for a maximum amount of news spread out to the largest possible circulation. The *Tribune* since then has never caught up with the now seemingly unbeatable *Times*, which has a circulation of 680,000 against the *Trib's* 356,000.

The same happened with smaller competitors in smaller cities. In St. Petersburg, Florida, the *Independent* and its competitor, the *Times*, had equal prewar

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circulation. The *Independent* concentrated its wartime newsprint on ads, the *Times* on news and circulation. In addition, after the war the *Independent* was bought by the Canadian newspaper tycoon, Roy Thomson, who frankly admits that all he cares about in newspapers is to make money. At the same time the proprietor of the *Times*, Nelson Poynter, almost compulsively filled his paper with foreign and national news, pressed vigorous local coverage, and combed the country for reportorial talent. Today the *Independent* is losing from $100,000 to $250,000 a year and has 34,000 circulation; the *St. Petersburg Times* makes a comfortable profit and has 114,000 circulation.

Kenneth R. Byerly, of the University of North Carolina, studied dailies in cities under 50,000 population and reported in the trade magazine, *Editor & Publisher*, on "blue ribbon" papers – those that sell more copies than their city population and therefore are presumably outstanding commercial successes: "Two factors most often mentioned in success stories of the 'blue ribbon' newspapers in this study were the maintenance of alert stringers and branch offices in far-flung circulation areas and strong editorials on local affairs." That newspaper is hard to kill whose audience has been trained to high expectations, attuned to the special product of the paper's own staff.

This is the significance of the collapse of the *Washington Times-Herald* and of the steady shrinkage of the Hearst empire: their staffs and their editors were constitutionally incapable of understanding or of explaining reality to the American population in the second half of the 20th Century. It is the significance of the growth of *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* – steady reinvestment in staff and their tools (for the *Times* $11 million of its $18 million net income from 1953 to 1960 was reinvested) and a discipline that keeps the staff attuned to reality.

Investment in quality of reporting can never be demonstrated as profits in any given year. It usually diminishes dividends. Yet papers with such a reinvestment seldom die and those that do not invest steadily are among the most vulnerable. In a stable monopoly a reduction of effort in staff and leadership can go unpenalized for years in terms of corporate existence or, for a time, dividends. Yet, when a testing time comes – an economic slump with readers tempted to stop buying a paper, or intrusion of outside papers and newsmagazines, or pressure by other advertising media, or the grim reaper of a rich absentee buyer – the paper that has been living off syndicated news and features has no depth of strength and no unique product to throw into the battle. And when the call to battle is sounded, it is too late to start building.

The kind of discipline and restraint that builds a staff – and the other functions of the paper with it – is seldom the creature of the normal instincts of businessmen from other fields, but arises from one man moved by some desire other than quick financial return.

Yet such men are mortal, too, and once-strong papers can die, as did two branches of the Rothschild banking family, from a lack of sons or a lack of kings to serve.

The sons of successful shapers of newspapers, like the heirs to all wealth, are beneficiaries of success and victims of it, too, susceptible to the conservatism of those who find the world readymade and the timidity of those knowing they did not make it. Or to what William Allen White called "the unconscious arrogance of conscious wealth." Successful publishers are forever praying that they will have sons and that these sons will be willing and able to inherit a completed institution and make it grow in a society that is still changing. And lacking sons they gaze with hope upon sons-in-law, one of the more important relationships in American newspaperdom, from Philip Graham of the *Washington Post* and Orvil E. Dryfoos of *The New York Times* on down.

Lacking strong, competent and dedicated personal heirs, leadership of newspapers tends to be dissipated to a variety of indifferent heirs or bank trustees or lawyers whose instincts are not to throw themselves into the building of an institution but to the administration of an estate. With Malthusian arithmetic, with each passing business generation the paper's ownership, if left to ordinary inheritance, becomes divided into ever smaller pieces until no one body of shareholders has the power or the personal involvement to enforce creative growth. Management, usually protected by business monopoly, tends to fall to pleasing personalities, adventurers or fiscal caretakers.

The Newspaper Chains

There are also newspaper chain operators, who conduct their newspapers – with a few notable exceptions – as minimal expense, minimal performance properties, who keep dossiers on locally-owned papers going down hill, or being split by family fights. Such operators have the centralized financial resources to tempt a bored or bitter heir or a dollar-minded trustee or a group of indifferent stockholders. The chains are picking up the crippled giants at an increasing rate. Forty years ago there were 31 chains with 153 papers; in 1960 there were 109 chains with 560 papers that controlled almost half of all American circulation. This has been the fate of once-good papers from Portland, Oregon, to Springfield, Massachusetts.

A chain may merely have the quality of patience. In Cincinnati in 1952 employees of the leading paper, the *Enquirer*, took court action to prevent the paper's sale to their competitor, a paper owned by the Taft family.

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When the employee-owned and operated *Enquirer* then pulled ahead with phenomenal success, the Tafts gave up and sold their paper to the third and least impressive paper, a Scripps-Howard daily. When the employees of the *Enquirer* fought among themselves, Scripps-Howard quietly bought up a controlling interest and today Cincinnati is for all practical purposes controlled journalistically by a chain.

Or, a paper can die for a lack of kings to serve. The *Boston Transcript* is often offered as proof that a paper of high quality cannot survive. But the *Transcript* served a small and special audience, the elite of Boston who controlled their kingdom. For decades it was profitable to advertise at high rates in the *Transcript* to get a message into the hands of the king. But with the crash and the New Deal, this elite lost its power and so did the paper that served them. It took a few years to die, but the *Transcript* was doomed in 1929.

And what of the huge papers, fat in pages and long in advertising linage, that falter and consolidate, like the *Los Angeles Mirror* (Chandler-owned) and the *Los Angeles Examiner* (Hearst-owned)? These two papers were recently suspended, leaving, by remarkable coincidence, the afternoon field exclusively to the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* (Hearst-owned) and the morning field to the *Los Angeles Times* (Chandler-owned).

Los Angeles has special problems of a sprawling and fragmented metropolis, but its newspapers' ability to grapple with it was clouded by two influences: a failure to remain engaged with the political and social realities of their readers, and a curious tendency of newspapers to choke themselves with paper.

For years the Chandlers ran their papers as personal organs of political and social opinion, the richest in linage but among the least responsive to the people they served. The *Times* is changing rapidly for the better, partly by evolution and partly because *The New York Times* will soon publish on the West Coast and take away thousands of frustrated serious readers. The *Examiner* had Hearst's disease: the former city editor in telling CBS what makes "a great newspaper" recounted such spectacular murder stories as "the Dahlia case . . . the Overell case."

The other curse of the fat papers is that although it is more efficient to print papers of consistent size in large quantities, at present advertising rates the profit begins to go down per page as each individual paper gets fatter. Large circulations attract advertising so that not only do papers go to more people, but each paper has more pages to accommodate all the ads. In 1945, with newsprint $78 a ton, papers of 100,000 or more circulation averaged 22 pages, and used 205,000 tons of paper a month. Ten years later, with newsprint at $126 a ton, papers averaged 40 pages, and were using 420,000 tons a month. Their outlay for paper – the biggest single item papers pay for – had gone up more than 230 percent. National advertising rates on a per subscriber basis rose in that same period only 39 percent and advertising revenues only 59 percent. Today average daily paper size is over 43 pages. Publishers of most large dailies have been giving away paper.

The Squeeze on News

At the same time, the news has been getting a smaller proportion of the added space. Not only must the poor reader struggle with hundreds of pages and grope through square yards of advertisements for his news, but the farther back he gets in the paper the smaller his reward, something both publishers and advertisers ought to worry about. In 1940 papers gave 40 percent of their space to advertising. Now advertising gets 60 percent. Additional pages are added on most papers with a ratio of one column of news to seven columns of ads. But even this "news" usually isn't; a 96-page-plus paper has to have most of its pages pre-printed, so what small non-advertising space there is gets imperishable "features," much of it designed to create a "buying mood." As a result, real news occupies an average of only 38 percent of non-advertising space in big city dailies, or 15 percent of the whole paper. In some papers hard news is only one page in 24.

A prudent publisher need not be impelled by altruistic motives to meet his social obligation, though such an impulse is a commanding one in men who make great papers. Where a daily fails to provide good local reporting it is also failing to exploit its potential as a carrier of advertising in the widest market area. Where it fails to present adequate national and world reporting, it is in danger of losing a small but profitable portion of its audience to the newsmagazines and to the spreading serious national papers.

Dailies have died for many of the same reasons that automobile companies have died – the economy of bigness and the profits of impersonal technology. But good newspapers are not yet impersonal in their operation or their product. To a remarkable degree the more distinguished and often the most profitable newspapers continue to be human institutions, led by a dedicated chief and cushioned against the lapses of heirarchical change by a strong staff with its own momentum. The inexorable attrition leading to local monopoly has not always been consistent and at certain times in certain places events have conspired to kill better papers while lesser ones survived. But if there is any principle beyond such happenstance it is that the notable survivors have been those impelled by an institutional rather than a purely commercial zeal and have avoided estrangement from the social realities they are supposed to report.

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Isherwood's Heroes

by Stephen Spender

Down There on a Visit
by Christopher Isherwood
(Simon and Schuster; $4.75)

In an obvious sense this novel is a return to the early Isherwood. It is written in the first person, the narrator is Isherwood, and the character of a Berlin boy, Waldemar, is a thread connecting episodes dealing with the other main characters. Isherwood returns here to the method which served him so well in the Berlin stories, picturing people in situations which are microcosms of his view of the world through three decades: the late twenties, the thirties, and the forties.

A difference from the earlier stories is that Isherwood gives here a much more complex self-portrait. In Berlin, he was, as it were, looking at his characters; here, to some extent they are looking at him. There are also the present Isherwoods of various phases, looking back at several past Isherwoods. The view of the author as camera, observing his "real" characters, and remaining detached is seen in retrospect to have a fiction within the fiction. The new Isherwood connives in the behavior of his characters. This novel reminds one of the title of his first: *All the Conspirators.*

In several respects this is probably Isherwood's best novel. It offers the sheer pleasure of writing completely personal and yet completely controlled, radiant with observation, never wasting a word, funny and sympathetic. The more there is of it, the better. Whereas the earlier novels were fixed to their place, Berlin mostly, and their time, the thirties, *Down There on a Visit* extends over the author's whole adult life, and across half the world, from London to California.

On the other hand, the use of the self-regarding autobiographical method on this scale seems something of an expedient, a return to an earlier method because of the comparative failure of the conventionally objective method of *The World in the Evening.* One hopes that this novel is intermediary to some further solution of his problem of how to approach his material without obtruding too much his self, which at times becomes felt by both writer and reader as a burden.

The advantage of the Isherwood self-portrait is that it is so enjoyable. The main disadvantage is that, despite the writer's heroic effort to maintain all at the same time several perspectives in portraying himself, he deprives the reader of perspectives by which he can judge the Isherwood world. At every turn the reader finds himself being unable to separate the views and personality which are Isherwood from the view of life which is the novel.

The most obvious instance of this difficulty is in the simple matter of truth. The writer calls himself by his own name, he gives extracts from a journal which he was keeping "at the time," and in which these very characters (and some even more verifiable) appear. One assumes that some things are real, others invented. But which? Although fiction may be as true as history, there are (as one knows well when children tell tales) different kinds of truth, and one wants to be able to distinguish one from the other. Moreover, if in a novel the narrator is himself, the historic background *itself*, and the characters described at least partly *themselves*, there is a probability that the "real" characters are in some ways changed in order to spare people's real feelings. In parts of this novel (particularly in the account of Ambrose) one has the feeling that punches are being pulled, and that the writer is embarrassed by the inability to report things which, in fact, would make Ambrose much more convincing as fiction. So, paradoxically, Ambrose becomes a conventional aesthete of fiction just because he was "drawn closely" from a real person. A reviewer of this book is bound, I think, to feel a bit apologetic, because he is constantly being put in the position of finding that in writing about the book he is writing about the author. One of the entirely admirable things about this novel is that it is extremely honest, and that the new Isherwood is completely unself-sparing in his portrait of himself. But a difficulty of his method is that the chief fault which he describes in his own character – namely, that he is not really involved, that he is only "down here on a visit" – easily becomes confused with limitations in the novel.

Since there is always a suggestion in Isherwood's work (as in Forster's and Auden's early writings) that the world is divided into friends and enemies, these are friends. This is not obvious in the first story, *Mr. Lancaster,* in which the young Isherwood, conceited and superior, visits a relative who manages the office of a shipping line in Hamburg, and who bombastically acts out before Isherwood the role of his self-importance. But Mr. Lancaster dies and Isherwood realizes that Mr. Lancaster's true condition was despair.

The young Isherwood thinks that because Mr. Lancaster is a grotesque, he is therefore not to be regarded as a living person, but as a kind of dummy. But it was the young Isherwood whose arrogance gave him a certain deadness in his not perceiving that Mr. Lancaster was a living being. In Ambrose one learns more about the qualities which are needed to make a person "alive," and thus unlike the stuffy English he has left behind him, who are exemplary corpses. Ambrose is an aesthete, self-exiled from the England of Cambridge "hearties" who broke up his rooms, on his Greek island: a "Shakespearean king" of "the kind that got themselves exiled" and "have favorites." His chief favorite is an effete Greek boy called Aleko. It is the loneliness, concealed but unwavering will, courage, gaiety and gentleness of Ambrose which give

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him, in the Isherwood world, the quality of being one who has chosen, at whatever price, his own life. He could have been a Cambridge don, in that carved stone cemetery. It is significant that in the last, and best, story, the hero Paul, the intermittent dope addict, ex-paid-boy-friend of the rich is also compared to a king. It is the perverse strength of will which enables Paul to renounce this past, became a saint of the camp for pacifists, be ascetic, and then turn back to the long journey to the end of the night which is drug-taking, that makes him a lord on life.

Apart from *Mr. Lancaster*, this book is then about Isherwood's heroes. His relationships with them are a mixture of real affection and mutual esteem, tinged with a streak of competitiveness (naturally all people who in their minds set others tests want to pass themselves). When Mr. Lancaster dies he has scored against Isherwood by proving that he was desperately lonely; when Isherwood leaves the Greek island Ambrose scores heavily because he pretends not to care; when Isherwood gives Paul $10,000 he is submitting him to a test which he secretly feels Paul is bound to lose. In the long run, of course, everyone has scored and we are reminded of the early Auden poem in which the "ruined boys" get the prizes (there is a great deal of school mythology here). This novel is a pantheon for dead Paul, dead Ambrose, and even, dead Mr. Lancaster. One is brought back to another early Isherwood title: *The Memorial.*

To a greater or less degree what the characters have here in common is that they are addicts. The positive aspect of an addict is, of course, his addiction: drink and boys with Ambrose, dope with Paul, his own image with Mr. Lancaster, sex with Waldemar. The negative aspect is that being fully committed to his addiction, the addict does not have to feel committed to anything else, not to other people, and still less to their boring morality, their "causes," etc. In fact, addicts have their own kind of moral superiority, because having become attached to a fragment of reality (Ambrose's island) they have a lofty disregard for nearly everything else (England left behind).

The significance of Mr. Isherwood's title *Down There on a Visit* is self-ironic, but the irony is ambiguous. It derives from one of the best scenes in the book, when Isherwood, wishing to please Paul, suggests that he too should take opium, and Paul, who is far away down his hallucinatory tunnel, roars with laughter, and exclaims:

> "So you want to try it? *Once! One pipe!* Or a dozen pipes, for that matter! You're exactly like a tourist who thinks he can take in the whole of Rome in one day. You know, you really *are* a tourist, to your bones. I bet you're always sending post cards with 'Down here on a visit' on them."

The accusation of course is revelatory, on one level only, of the addict's moral superiority. But, on the other level, where it is so difficult to distinguish the character and behavior of Isherwood the self-portrait from what one feels about his novel, it suggests that this book only visits the edge of horrors. It deals with a terrible period, and it mentions all the names and times: Berlin, September, 1939, the Nazis, 1940. These characters and their reactions somehow, in their own behavior, reflect these realities. There is everything to be said for Isherwood's method of reducing too gigantic events to small points of consciousness, but nevertheless with these characters somehow we do feel that we are only "down there on a visit" and that we have been spared the worst reality. There are – on the reduced scale of what goes on down there – no crabs, no bombs, no prison camps. The beatings, indulged in by one of the lesser characters, are just for fun. It is true that the Nazi horrors echo through these pages, and it is true that Isherwood is terrified of the approaching war. In a scene that took place in Athens and is reported on the island, one of Ambrose's "subjects" is hit on the head with a bottle, and permanently injured; but Ambrose does not take this seriously, and there is a feeling that the reader shouldn't either. The Nazis are there like a nagging conscience, the war is there like a nightmare which will become real, but in fact no one down there is going to be involved.

Possibly it is part of Isherwood's purpose to convey just this. The extracts from his journals of Vedantist philosophy suggest that he does not believe evil is real. In that case, however, one should surely see the worst as the worst, in order to be sure it is not evil. What is most lacking in this novel is a black sheep who is black to Isherwood, and not just apparently black, as seen by the "squares," so as to be seen as white by Isherwood.

Possibly this book is a preliminary for a novel which will really visit Hell. I feel that despite his almost compulsive pulling of punches, Isherwood may one day write such a novel, and perhaps it is the involvement of the projected Isherwood character with the portraits of semi-real people, which has here prevented him from going much further into the abyss than he does, even in *Paul* – the story where there are glimpses of how much further he might go.

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SPECIMEN GRATUIT SUR DEMANDE

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Custodian of the Peace

by Jacques Katel

For more than eight years, the United Nations, although constantly growing, was essentially one man, Dag Hammarskjold. Joseph P. Lash, UN correspondent for *The New York Post* during those years, describes him as a "lonely unassuming civil service aristocrat [who] has become the most famous Swede since Charles XII." Mr. Lash wrote his biography while the Secretary-General was alive. It contains an epilogue rushed to the printer after the tragedy of September 18, 1961.

Dag Hammarskjold
Custodian of the Brush-fire Peace
A biography by Joseph P. Lash
(Doubleday; $4.50)

What emerges from this biography is a well documented account of the UN during the Hammarskjold years, a UN capable of preventing, localizing and stopping international conflicts which might have developed into large-scale wars, able to fill the vacuums created by decolonization and even to provide a link between two great disputing powers. The book is a timely and important contribution to the continuing discussion over the central theme, "is the UN really necessary – is it useful?"

Hammarskjold's 1954 flight to Peking led to the release of 11 American airmen sentenced as "spies." It resulted, writes Mr. Lash, in the "sudden realization by member states – both East and West – that in Hammarskjold they had a diplomat of balance, discretion and extraordinary resourcefulness . . . and that in the office of the Secretary-General they had an organ that could fill the vacuum created by the impotence of the Security Council as an agency for negotiation, mediation, initiation."

This realization in turn led to the formula so often used in the following years: "leave it to Dag." The first Secretary-General, Trygve Lie of Norway, had attempted to become "Mr. UN." In 1950, a self-styled "pilgrim for peace," he had gone to the capitals of the four great powers with a 20-year peace plan drawn up with the help of his public relations department. The only positive result was a home-coming reception for the Secretary-General organized by his own staff and an emotional announcement by Mr. Lie that the whole world wanted peace. (A few weeks later, Stalin, one of the recipients of Lie's plan, struck in Korea.)

The very idea of an abstract pilbrimage was alien to Mr. Hammarskjold, though he traveled widely, probably more than any diplomat ever had before, on undramatic and certainly undramatized missions to trouble spots in Asia, Africa, the Middle-East. Through his travels, he asserted the UN presence when and where it was needed. A highly cultivated man, descendant of a family which had served Sweden in the Army or in the Government for several centuries, the Secretary-General used his keen intellect in an attempt to give substance to the UN Charter at a time when sterile debates and empty resolutions tended to make the Organization little more than a propaganda stage.

Mr. Lash cites many instances of Hammarskjold's diplomatic skill. Thus, during the Lebanese crisis, a Soviet veto of a Japanese resolution prevented the Council from taking measures that appeared to the Secretary-General essential to stave off further deterioration. "Hammarskjold," recalls Mr. Lash, "enumerated the steps he intended to take to strengthen the UN operation in Lebanon. They were essentially the steps which had been proposed in the vetoed resolution. He would, he added, 'of course accept the consequences' if members of the Council disapproved. No one did."

Hammarskjold had no illusions about the influence the UN could exercise in conflicts involving the great powers directly: "After the Paris summit fiasco in 1960," writes Mr. Lash, "Hammarskjold, while quick to point out that the UN offered 'special possibilities to handle even the most touchy situations,' emphasized that United Nations diplomacy and action had greater chances of effectiveness 'when we deal with matters which are not what is called cold war issues.'. . ."

However, it may be useful to recall, at a time when a new summit meeting appears imminent, that in 1959 the Secretary-General had suggested that the summit be held within the framework of the Security Council and had explained that such a meeting would mean "that the UN Charter as a whole emerges as the background of the deliberations. It means that the negotiating parties, without it having to be openly stated, accept as guiding them those basic rules of international coexistence of which the Charter is an expression."

Hammarskjold's career showed that he was never afraid to provoke the displeasure of the great powers, be it Britain and France during the Suez crisis, the US over his handling of the Lebanese question, or the USSR over the Congo operation. He saw the UN "as the main platform and the main protector of the small and middle powers," says Mr. Lash. To Khrushchev's vociferous demands during the 1960 General Assembly that Hammarskjold resign, the Secretary-General replied: "It is not the Soviet Union or, indeed, any other big powers who need the UN for their protection; it is all the others. In this sense the Organization is first of all *their* Organization, and I deeply believe in the wisdom with which they will be able to use it and guide it."

Although by no means the definitive biography of a remarkable man or the complete history of the turbulent years, Mr. Lash's book must be read by all those who intend to participate intelligently in the debate on the future of the world Organization. It is interpretive reporting at its best. Hammarskjold who had agreed to the writing of this biography would certainly not have disavowed it if he had lived long enough to read it.

Mr. Lash's book has already been published in England and translated into French, German, Swedish and Danish.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Stephen Spender, *the distinguished British poet, is now in the United States on a lecture tour.* Jacques Katel, *formerly a French correspondent at the UN, is now an editor of* Atlas *magazine.* Michael D. Reagan *is on the faculty of Syracuse University.*

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Decentralizing the Economy

by Michael D. Reagan

Separation of power, Mr. Dimock says, is "perhaps the outstanding example of a good thing carried too far." Sharply (and in my view properly) critical of an American tendency to equate freedom with near-anarchy, he asserts that it is more important to a nation "to be able to count on the right action at the right time than that it enjoy the freedom to procrastinate and debate." But

The New American Political Economy
by Marshall E. Dimock
(Harper; $6)

while strengthening the national government's capacity to govern, Dimock would also, paradoxically, lighten its tasks by devolution of many domestic functions to a newly-created regional level. He would apply the decentralization or deconcentration principle to corporations and labor unions as well. On the premise that "great size and maximization belong to the way of life of our authoritarian competitors," he adopts George Romney's proposal that whenever a firm exceeds some specified percentage share of its market, it be forced into divestiture. Collective bargaining would be equivalently localized. To encourage "voluntary" spin-offs, Dimock would add a steeply progressive corporate tax rate, reaching ninety percent, for corporate incomes over $5 million a year.

More fundamentally, although less provocatively, Dimock argues that a concern for freedom alone may rationalize individual and group selfishness. Reacting against an historical split between the study of political ethics and economizing techniques, he urges that government and economic life be brought into a single focus once again.

One can applaud his recognition of the dangers of weak, divided government and of the need to insure that private economic activity goes on within a governmentally established framework of social values. But the volume's virtues are partly nullified by its occasional vagueness, its a-political quality and its 19th Century economic assumptions. Taking these points in order, what does it mean, for example, to assert that the political economy approach is "organic, managerial, and balanced, which is to say that it is complete, sequential, and responsive?"

One of the author's themes, that the personnel needs of government and business are "essentially the same" disregards the factor that most sharply differentiates political from business management: the much greater need for political leaders to mediate conflicts of power and values among competing social groups. When Dimock disposes of the pressure group problem by suggesting simply that we persuade interest groups to "have a care for the public interest," he ignores the crucial question of how to institutionalize this care in the face of a universal tendency of each group to equate its own welfare with that of the nation.

Finally, he asserts, without discussing the technological problems involved, that "we can greatly increase the number of property owners, of self-owners" of businesses; that individual entrepreneurs are happier people, without considering the unhappiness masked behind a small business failure rate that now equals that of 1939; and that the USSR cannot develop the essential skills of "practicality and levelheadedness" because it lacks what the US has: "the school of experience on one's own, the experience of the man who starts his own business and becomes master of the whole." Shades of Horatio Alger! Given the capital requirements of most manufacturing and many service industries today, this is in effect to say that our success as a nation will rest on the skills of hot dog stand operators. For the men we customarily think of as skilled managers are salaried employees of corporations; they have not started "their" businesses, do not own them, and owe their positions to survival in a bureaucratic jungle. One can feel that Western Electric could be split off from the Bell Telephone operating companies with no loss to the economy, but it is difficult to see any real potential in a movement to revive the family farm and the owner-manager enterprise in the second half of the 20th Century.

For the Hidden Facts and Sharp Criticism of

Kennedy's Test Resumption

You will want to read the March 12 and March 19 issues of **I. F. Stone's Weekly.** The first demonstrates that the decision to resume testing was based on "gamesmanship" not sober analysis of military or technological need; and reveals some startling facts about our military posture. The second shows how public opinion continues to be misled about test detection. Here are facts you won't find elsewhere on Britain's success in monitoring our new underground series and how Project Gnome showed Edward Teller was wrong in his "big hole" salt cavern calculations. You can get these two issues free if you use the blank below to subscribe now to Washington's unique 4-page newsletter, now in its 10th year, the least expensive and most independent of its kind. **Only $5 a year.** Free yearly index sent to subscribers on request.

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MOVIES

Truth Will Out—Sometimes

General Information question: What have the playwrights Lillian Hellman, Tennessee Williams, and Peter Shaffer in common? Answer: Each has written an overpraised play whose faults have been found out on the screen.

Film versions, besides reorganizing plays for a different medium, frequently alter them, and two of the plays below have been considerably changed;

The Children's Hour (United Artists)
Sweet Bird of Youth (M-G-M)
Five Finger Exercise (Columbia)
The Counterfeit Traitor (Paramount)

but these changes are irrelevant to the innate faults of the originals. I certainly do not claim that the motion picture is the touchstone of truth, exposing the falsity that the theater accepts; many more examples disprove this than otherwise. Yet the curious fact remains that these three films at last render the plays' shortcomings blatant and unblinkable.

To begin with the oldest: I saw Miss Hellman's *The Children's Hour* in 1934 and in its 1952 revival (I missed the bowdlerized film version in 1936); both times, and in reading, I was oppressed by two structural clumsinesses and a thematic fissure. It seems to me to have one of the heaviest openings and expositions of any generally accepted play I know; and the catalyst of the catastrophe – a child's vicious lie about Lesbianism – is incredible both as something invented by a child and believed by an adult. But even if we pass over these flaws in order to get on with the play, we then face a climax in which the false accusation turns out to have truth in it: one of the two schoolmistresses does indeed have Lesbian feelings for the other, which the ordeal has brought to the surface.

What has begun and grown as a drama of classic Rumor, engaging our sympathy for the victims' innocence and our anger at people's eagerness to believe ill, switches suddenly to pronounce the thesis that smoke means fire. Shirley MacLaine, who is in the film, said in an interview: "It's a story about the fact that in every lie there's an ounce of truth." In other words, you are guilty if accused, and God sits in Heaven flanked by Torquemada and Joe McCarthy.

This conclusion is, I believe, experientially unproved and theoretically myopic; but, true or not, it has never seemed logically dramatized in this bifurcated play.

Apparently, the current film has been made by William Wyler for the sole purpose of supporting my objections. The beginning has never seemed slower, the catalyst wispier, the ending less organic. (I do not dwell on the unreal character of the actress-aunt and the hollow reasons for her absence from the trial.) For me, there was therefore some ignoble gratification in the film, but it is difficult to see what anyone else can get out of it. Miss MacLaine, a good if limited comedienne, cannot begin to control a dramatic part. Audrey Hepburn, as her friend, cannot put three dimensions where two will hardly fit. Fay Bainter, as the credulous grandmother, provides a museum piece of stock company acting and of the popular idea of anile gentility – all black velvet, blue hair, and long pearls. Wyler's choices for the hero and the wicked child, James Garner and Karen Balkin, are inexplicable.

Except for its first act, which was raffishly funny, *Sweet Bird of Youth* was an embarrassment. Whatever one might say against Williams' previous work, it had been the antithesis of the plotty and the laboriously social-conscious. This play hung its denouement on a twist (the film star's discovery, through a phone call, that her supposed flop was a big hit) whose flimsiness would have bothered Norman Krasna; and its political sub-plot was full of sophomoric thought and language that betrayed Williams' discomfort in this area.

As with Wyler, the play's faults are italicized by Richard Brooks, the director-adapter, and are now visible to the purblind. Paul Newman and Geraldine Page, repeating their stage roles, get excellent value out of the *humour noir* of the bedroom scenes, but their performances are again shaken apart by the plot desperation of the play.

Brooks has also contributed some false touches of his own. In the play the modern Micaela had to be operated on (and sterilized) because of a venereal disease given her by the hero; later, the hero is castrated by her brother and his pals. Brooks has "licked" these elements – for the film's family audience, no doubt – by changing the first item to an abortion and (although he retains all the dialogue that leads up to it) by substituting for castration one blow across the hero's face. "Now no girl will ever love you," says the girl's brother; whereupon the girl promptly goes off with the hero. Brooks' boneheadedness is further documented in a scene on the front porch of the hotel. TV men and carpenters are preparing for a political rally; in their midst Miss Page and Newman have a loud emotional scene. Not one of the technicians ever turns to look at them.

Five Finger Exercise was hailed in London and New York as the advent of a serious dramatist. To me, it seemed a play of about the same emotional weight as Noel Coward's *The Vortex*, peopled with puppets, and written either in clichés or in a purple that made one yearn to have the clichés back again. Its subject is the schism between a sensitive son and a bourgeois father (another note of the twenties), with the schism deepened by the arrival of a cultivated young ex-German tutor. The film is transposed from England to California, the allegation of homosexuality has been

NEXT WEEK

Spring Book Review

Essays, poems, and reviews by

Frank Freidel Irving Howe
Robie Macauley
Delmore Schwartz
Cushing Strout
William Jay Smith
Joseph B. Wheelwright
and others

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sweetened to adultery, and whatever gilt was left on this work of pure lead has been washed off by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett, the pedestrian screenwriters, and by Daniel Mann, whose direction is cloddish and stagy. Jack Hawkins, a good actor who can flounder without good direction, pounds through the role of the father. Rosalind Russell, though constantly attended by her hairdresser and her own "chaser" spotlight, cannot make the mother interesting. Annette Gorman and Richard Beymer, the daughter and son, are still young enough to find vocations other than acting, for which they are not equipped. Maximilian Schell is too forceful and talented for the tutor, a part with which he seemed almost as impatient as I was.

A cheerier coda. *The Counterfeit Traitor* is a brainless but painless spy film shot in color in Stockholm, Berlin, Hamburg, and Copenhagen. Generally entertaining, it has Lilli Palmer giving her best performance since *The Notorious Gentleman.* Stanley Kauffmann

ART

The Painting of the Sixties

American painting of the fifties perfectly reflected, as we have noted before, American politics of the fifties in their mutual stress on sincerity as the key value, in their mutual preoccupation with personality rather than program, in their mutual rising above the mechanics of their respective professions. The two things now share a mutual twilight. Barely a year after General Eisenhower's retirement it is difficult to remember what Eisenhower Republicanism was all about. It is rapidly becoming equally difficult to remember that time – so recent – when American painting was allowed to be nothing but "breakthroughs" and heroic "encounters" between the artist and his materials.

The latter difficulty is insurmountable at a quietly brilliant exhibition of contemporary American painting now at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.

The show is the work of Bartlett H. Hayes, Jr., director of the Addison Gallery of American Art at Phillips Academy, Andover. It constitutes one of the strongest arguments in favor of the American private school. For many years Mr. Hayes has been a familiar figure in this country's art world, sitting on boards, serving on committees, appearing on panels. All the time, however, back at Andover, he has been opening the world of art to adolescent boys. This has involved, in the first place, attracting their attention, and, in the second, letting them convince themselves that there is something here that can be understood and enjoyed. Their attention once attracted, such an audience is a good bit harder to deal with than the average audience at, say, the Museum of Modern Art. Accustomed to the search for significance in history, science and literature and to finding a reasonably close correspondence between observed phenomena and discovered meaning, they cannot be fobbed off with prose-poems about the *Zeitgeist.* I have no idea how Mr. Hayes goes about this hard task in his daily work, but I have been privileged to see how he does it in two major exhibitions, "Seeing the Unseeable" and "The Naked Truth," and can report that the two shows and the two books based on them (the former, *Layman's Guide to Modern Art,* was written with Mary C. Rathbun) are unequalled anywhere as essays starting from scratch and ending up with some clear ideas of what art is about.

This notion that art can be understood and enjoyed, that it bears a relation to the rest of our lives, is at the heart of *American Painting, 1962,* at Richmond. As you would expect, Mr. Hayes contributes an exceptionally illuminating catalogue introduction, but the show itself is more illuminating. Here are 60 paintings, almost all of them having something to say about man's life. They say it with skill, insight and organization. It must be 20 years since that could be said about the majority of pictures in an American show; and a mere ten years ago no pictures at all were permitted to do such unpainterly things.

It is not a programmatic show. Mr. Hayes was not out to prove that Abstract Expressionism is dead or even that other ways of painting are still practiced. He has certainly, and admittedly, proved the latter. He does not admit it, but the show itself goes far toward proving the former as well.

The point is made in the complete absence of the second-and-third-string abstractionists who have for some 15 years swelled the chorus in American shows. It is made even more devastatingly in the pictures present by three members of the first string: Kline, Gottlieb and Hans Hofmann. All three are right off the assembly line, and, without the enhancing setting usually provided by such chorus members as Michael Goldberg, Norman Bluhm, Helen Frankenthaler or Joan Mitchell, the three by the masters seem pretty thin. For me at least, the three paintings produced the same feeling of anachronism I got a couple of weeks ago when Richard M. Nixon once more began to explain.

Right at the beginning, the show dazzles you with a couple of shockers – a perceptive portrait of Justice Frankfurter by Gardner Cox and a complex and sophisticated studio interior by John Koch. Neither of these artists is supposed to have existed at all during the epoch of Eisenhower-art, yet here they are, painting like masters and offering much in the way of close correspondence between observed phenomena and inner significance. These two paintings establish a new frontier of what can be done in contemporary American art, for the received idea of "contemporary" has until now rigorously excluded both such recognizable portraiture as Cox's and such traditional beautiful painting as Koch's.

Charles Sheeler's "Sun, Rocks and Trees" reveal, as his work always has, the sheer delight of the meeting between nature observed and art con-

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structed. Staurt Davis' "Study for the Paris Bit" does much the same for the brittle, jazzy life of the city in terms of bold black line and bright color plane. The lead painting of Ben Shahn's "Lucky Dragon" series successfully moves his enduring social concern into the blane of all humanity.

The atmosphere of intelligence and tolerance created by the show as a whole makes a number of non-representational works fit in more easily to a scheme of art that asks for some clue to reality on any level. Surrounded by accidental paintings composed of flung gravel, for instance, the art of Gyorgy Kepes has usually looked like more of the same. Here his "Nature Patina" does indeed suggest some uncountably ancient geological surface, with layers of lichen and granite scraped clean to reveal the memory of primal fires beneath. A large picture, "Blue Space Concept," by Yeffe Kimball, is not only white, blue and shadow: it is also galactic space in which super-suns are grains of dust. FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

Mail Fraud?

Sirs:

In "The Mail Fraud," March 26, you state: "The very idea of making the Post Office Department a self-supporting business is wrong. It is not a business; it is a service, or should be." I question the relevance of whether the Post Office Department is a "business" or "service" to the issue of whether it should be self-supporting. You continue: "No other department of the government is even thought of as a business. Why then the Post Office?" One could mention the Social Security Administration, which, call it a federal insurance "business" or "service," has been paying its own way for a long time. I would personally prefer not to subsidize my neighbors' subscriptions to *Life, Time* and the *Reader's Digest* out of general federal revenues. Moreover, I don't like the idea of Texas oilmen helping to provide me with *The New Republic.*

The thing which breaks the mail carrier's back is not third class "junk mail" but mass circulation magazines and all the other periodicals. Ask a mailman. You act as if small circulation publications are singled out for special discrimination by the proposed increase in second class rates when you state: "Mass circulation magazines distributed largely through newsstands rather than through the mails would be hurt least." If the implication is that such magazines are in fact principally distributed through newsstands you are in demonstrable error. Why not raise your subscription rates, flush out a few more advertisers, seek increased newsstand sales or go out of business? To put it differently, what is the distinction between "inefficient farmers" and "inefficient magazines?"

Stephen P. Thomas
Cambridge, Mass.

Sirs:

I can agree entirely with your statement that the Post Office Department should not be regarded as a self-supporting business. I also agree that first-class rates are being raised entirely because first-class mail users have no lobby in Washington.

But when you get into the areas of second- and third-class rates you begin to warp the facts to fit your arguments. Actually second-class mail has always been the chief source of losses in the postal service, as Congressmen have always been afraid of the newspapers back home. Third-class mail has pretty largely paid its own way.

Let us take a case: If I mail two thousand pieces of third-class mail it costs me fifty dollars. My friend who publishes a newspaper mails two thousand copies at a cost of eight to fourteen dollars, depending on weight and advertising content. ("Junk" content in your language.) He can mail his papers for as little as *one-eighth of a cent each,* while I must pay at least two and one-half cents for an envelope that takes less space in the mailbags. If my newspaper friend mails his papers to a post office within the county that does not have carrier delivery, the post office carries them *free.* Can any fair-minded person say third-class rates should be raised when some second-class mail is still being carried *free?*

Third-class mail does *not* get first-class service, even though you say so. It is often worked a day or several days

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after it enters the post office. But second-class mail is worked the same day, so I think it would be entirely proper for it to pay first-class rates for first-class service.

I am sorry to see *The New Republic* following the shabby line of other magazines and newspapers in attempting to discredit the competition of third-class mail by referring to it as "junk." Surely few persons are so stupid as not to see that the book club advertising that comes to them as third-class mail is no "junkier" than the same book club advertising appearing in *The New Republic*. I have received third-class mail asking me to subscribe or to renew my subscription to *The New Republic*. I still do not regard it as "junk" even though you do, and I doubt if your circulation manager regards it as "junk." *Carroll Coleman*
The Prairie Press
Iowa City, Iowa

Cybernation

Sirs:

Helen Hill Miller's review of *Cybernation: The Silent Conquest* by Donald N. Michael (March 26) calls for a list of *errata*. These are in the sequence in which they appear.

"Automatic ditch-diggers replace the husky but unskilled; automatic mining machinery, the husky and skilled. . . ." Trenching machines are larger and more powerful today than those that were in use 40 years ago, but are still made in the same pattern and none are automatic. Further, what has happened to the mining industry in recent years is the result, for the most part, of the extension of strip-mining which is carried on with draglines working from the surface of the earth down, rather than with the kind of burrowing machinery that was so much discussed two decades ago – and that was not automatic either.

"Prefabricators and assembly lines replace the remaining craftsmen and the blue-collar semi-skilled. . . ." Assembly lines, used more and more widely since they were developed just before the World War I, have nothing to do with automation, but merely serve to bring the material to be worked on to the worker. *Prefabricator* is a term of uncertain references. It is meaningless to an industrial engineer. Perhaps what is intended by it is a powered work-positioning device. This, too, is mechanization rather than automation.

"The sophistication of computers is growing faster than . . . managerial sophistication. . . ." This statement is more nearly correct if it is turned the other way around. Large and expensive computers have become status symbols and are often purchased by management which desires to *appear* sophisticated, hence the fairly common inability to make proper use of them. Witness the fact that one of the larger department stores in Washington, D.C. has just removed over a million dollars worth of such high-powered computing equipment from its accounting offices, and has reverted to simpler methods; that the computer-based program for patent-searching in the Department of Commerce has not developed a satisfactory technique after more than five years of effort – and is now proceeding on a new tack under new management; and that another Department is using one of the most costly and intricate of these machines merely to compute a divisional payroll.

"[Computers] are beginning to compose music, translate, and . . . their capacity to write plays . . . is improving." 1. The music they compose is no better than the music human mathematicians can compose by hand. 2. All of the machine-translations have to be re-translated by human beings; and there is a belief that this use of computers is of more significance for linguistic analysis than for translation. 3. Computers may be used to juggle plot elements; they cannot be horsed into writing plays.

Dr. Michael's pamphlet is a compendium of the shockers that are current among computer enthusiasts One example will do. He describes in copious detail a computerized machine that behaves like a Golem or a Frankenstein, and consequently is already uncontrollable by its makers. It can learn to recognize what it has seen before, and teach itself generalizations about what it recognizes; it can also learn to discriminate and thus identify shapes similar to that with which it is familiar. "Future versions will hear as well as see . . . it has its own pace and style of learning, of refining its discriminations, and of making mistakes." But the trouble *now* is that this Golem is not a

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working device. It is a computer program which consists of a code, as one authority on the subject says, "for a series of operations and instructions in the performance of activities for which, in principle, neither programs nor instructions can be written."

Giovanni Pico
Washington, D. C.

The Brazilian Oligarchy

Sirs:

With regard to the two letters published under the heading "Trouble in Brazil" (April 12). First, Ronald Lloyd says that neither the Russian nor the Chinese nor the Cuban revolutions were made by peasants. I had always thought Mao Tse Tung did precisely that – against Stalin's advice and contrary to orthodox Marxist rules. Likewise, the Cuban revolution was made by peasants (in Oriente Province) and by the middle class (Havana) – against the workers and against big capital.

As for the Brazilian Ambassador's letter, I have no doubt he is an intelligent man. But let us not be fooled. What matters are the interests of the Brazilian people, of American-Brazilian friendship, of avoiding a Communist revolution in Brazil, not the interests of Kubitschek, Gauthier, Lacerda, Lafer, Sebastiao Pais de Almeida, Schmidt and the rest of the elite in Brazil that now desperately wants Alliance for Progress funds in the hopes of 1) avoiding true reform, 2) putting more millions away for themselves. This Brazilian oligarchy is among the most corrupt and cynical in the world. All the things I said about them in my *New Republic* article ("Which Revolution for Brazil," March 19) have been said, and in print, again and again in Brazil.

Since my article appeared, I have been directly threatened with the loss of my Brazilian nationality, with never being permitted to go back to Brazil. I lost my job with one Brazilian newspaper and was told not to come near President Goulart's party on its recent US visit. The elite is not used to being exposed abroad. Yet, when Brazil gets into trouble, they will ship off to Paris, Madrid or New York – and blame it on the Communists.

Louis Wiznitzer
New York, N.Y.

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